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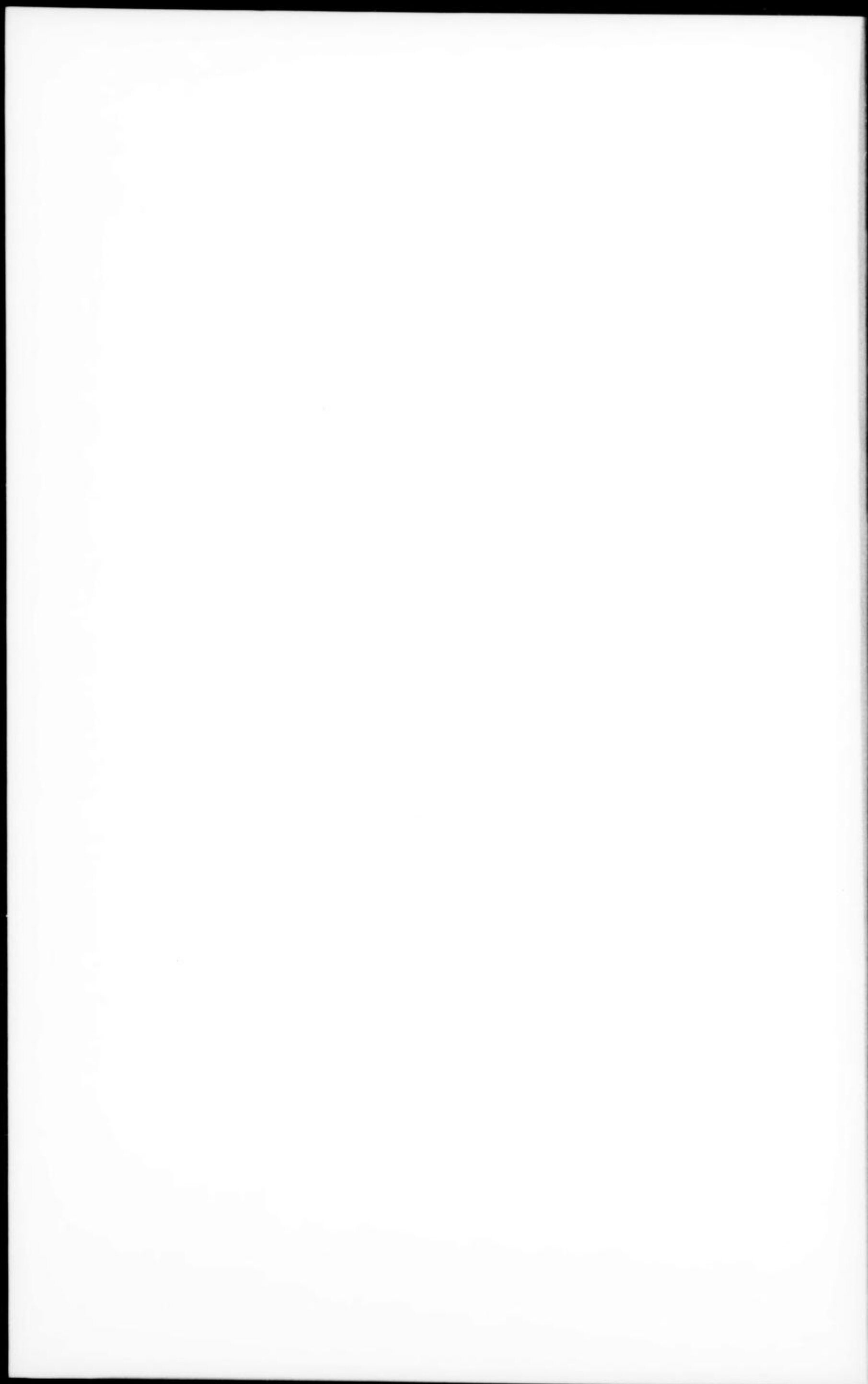
Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

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journal of Communist and
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**Eternal vigilance is the price of
liberty**

On 90th Birth Anniversary

Rockwell Kent (1882-1971)

His works have always conveyed his thoughts and sensations, and he always tried to make them understandable not only to a narrow circle of art lovers and connoisseurs, but to all people, to whom his work was dedicated. Always, he tried in his art to speak a language comprehensible to all. That is why his language in art was always simple and clear.

All forms of art are first and foremost an expression of love for peaceful life. And the natural consequence of this love is hatred of death and its instrument — war. Love of life is love of the truth.



Wake Up, America!



The crucial problems of theory and policy that continuously arise before the Communist movement are resolved by scientific analysis of the laws and regularities of social development, conceptualization of the practice of socialist and communist construction, and revolutionary struggle against the capitalist system and imperialist oppression. The experience of every Communist Party is the common asset of the whole world Communist movement.

This year the Soviet people and all progressives celebrate the 50th anniversary of the constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The history of the Soviet state is an inspiring example for the world Communist movement in the struggle for socialism and communism, eradication on Earth of the exploitation of man by man and the equality, friendship and free development of all nations and nationalities. The CPSU Central Committee resolution on preparations for the 50th anniversary of the USSR, which traces the historic path of the peoples of the Soviet Union and examines CPSU policy in national relations and national state construction evoked deep interest among our readers.

Comrade Podgorny's interview is the first of a series with prominent personalities in socialist countries and the world Communist and working-class movement on key aspects of theory and practice.

Fifty years of fraternal union

N. V. PODGORNYY, Member of Political Bureau, CC CPSU and Presidium Chairman of USSR Supreme Soviet replies to Editors' questions

Question: Would you please dwell on some aspects of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics formed in 1922, that is, five years after the Great October Socialist Revolution. What cardinal points would you single out in the history of the formation of the united Soviet multinational state?

Answer: To begin with, it should be stressed that the creation

of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was a legitimate outcome of the joint revolutionary struggle of the working people of all nationalities defending the great gains of the October against home counter-revolution and imperialist intervention for the final elimination of the exploiting system, for a new, socialist organization of society. This required unity of all the national contingents of the proletariat.

By overthrowing the power of capitalists and landlords and establishing proletarian dictatorship, the October Revolution created the necessary preconditions for fruitful cooperation among all the nations and nationalities of our country in a socialist society free from social and national oppression. The first acts of Soviet power – Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia, Declaration of the Rights of the Working and Exploited People, the first Constitution of the USSR and the constitutions of the other Soviet republics – legislatively formalized the principles of Lenin's national policy, such as equality and sovereignty of the peoples, the right to free self-determination, abolition of national privileges and restrictions, and free development of all nations and nationalities. And the Bolshevik party consistently followed these principles.

As a result of the October Revolution the peoples of our country gained the right to national self-determination, to shaping their own destiny. Our Party regarded national emancipation and the creation of forms of Soviet national statehood consonant with the interests of the peoples as one of the decisive conditions for a genuinely equal and voluntary union of nations oriented on building the socialist society. Following the October Revolution independent Soviet republics came into existence on the territory of the former Russian empire. Battling against home and foreign class enemies, in the Civil War, fighting against imperialist intervention, eliminating the war ravages and building the foundations of a socialist economy – all this engendered mutual confidence and fraternal friendship among peoples which tsarism had for centuries pitted against each other. In all the Soviet republics this gave impulse to the working people's desire for unity.

Their politico-military alliance was forged in the years of the Civil War and imperialist intervention. And when peaceful construction began, their ties in economy, foreign policy coordination and defense matters became increasingly close. On this basis, profoundly internationalist relations took shape between the peoples of our country, paving the way for unity in a federal multinational socialist state.

There were also difficulties in this progressive process, stemming from the economic and cultural backwardness inherited from tsarism and capitalism, and from counter-revolutionary attempts to exploit against the Soviet power the survivals of the old national hostility. We had to contend with bourgeois nationalism and great-power chauvinism, and with nationalist deviators inside the Party. However, all these difficulties were overcome because the idea of unity had taken hold of the working class and large sec-

tions of the working people, who understood that for the socialist republics close brotherly union was the only key to survival, to building socialism, in the ring of capitalist states.

The movement for a united federal state was countrywide and genuinely popular. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was thus the fruit of the revolutionary creativity of the working class, of working people of all nationalities. It was brought into being under the leadership of Lenin's Communist Party, built on the principles of proletarian internationalism and embracing Communists in all the republics, regardless of nationality. The proposals to unite the Soviet republics were widely discussed at gubernia, uyezd and volost congresses of Soviets, and at workingmen's meetings. Republican congresses of Soviets unanimously approved Lenin's idea of a voluntary socialist federation of equal and sovereign republics, and resolved to form the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The First All-Union Congress of Soviets on December 30, 1922, was a real triumph for the Communist Party's national policy, crowning the popular federative movement. The preparations for it and the Congress itself were imbued with Lenin's ideas of a Soviet federative state. The Congress issued a declaration and endorsed a treaty on the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, both of which were subsequently incorporated in the first federal constitution – the 1924 Constitution of the USSR. Originally, the Union encompassed four Soviet republics – the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Transcaucasian Federation (Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia).

In a big multinational country like ours, building national states is, of course, a highly complicated process requiring time and enormous effort. Speaking of the federative movement and the making of the Union, V. I. Lenin stressed that it 'cannot be affected at one stroke; we have to work towards it with the greatest patience and circumspection' (Vol. 30, p. 293). The five years between the October Revolution and the formation of the USSR are evidence of tremendous work by our Party, of the great constructive power of the proletarian dictatorship, the Soviet system, which made it possible to work out and effectuate in a short span of history a fundamentally new form of state – a socialist federation based on the voluntary union and equality of its members.

The successful building of socialism, which assured all-round progress for the nations and nationalities of our country, impelled the further development and improvement of the Soviet federative state. The Turkmen and Uzbek union republics were formed in 1924, and the Tajik in 1929. A new Constitution formalizing the victory of socialism in the USSR was adopted in 1936; it converted the Kazakh and Kirghiz autonomous republics into union republics, and made the Azerbaijan, Armenian and Georgian republics, priorly comprising the Transcaucasian Federation, direct constituent members of the Union. In 1940, the working people of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia restored Soviet power, and the republics joined the Union at the free wish of their peoples. That same year

the Moldavian Autonomous Republic became a union republic as a result of the reunification of the Moldavian people. The development of autonomous republics and regions, and of national areas, was also under way. At present, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics consists of 15 union republics, which include 20 autonomous republics, 8 autonomous regions and 10 national areas. Thus, our Union is a viable, dynamic form of federation.

Looking back at the events of 50 years ago, it should be stressed, I think, that the emergence of the USSR was much more than a mere reflection of the peculiarities of a definite phase of our history. The struggle of the Bolshevik Party, of the working masses, for the creation of the Soviet Union embodied in practice the central ideas of the Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian revolution, the teaching of Lenin on the national question.

Communists have always held, and hold now, that equality and free development of nations are essential to unity and cooperation, to successful struggle against the exploiting system, for socialism and communism.

Question: You have described the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a fundamentally new form of state. Would you name the main distinctive features of Soviet socialist federalism?

Answer: There are many federal states in the world. But federations differ. The Marxist-Leninist view is that national discrimination and inequality are rooted in class contradictions and social inequality. Federation should therefore be judged by its real social class nature.

Our Central Committee resolution on the 50th anniversary of the USSR notes that 'unlike formal bourgeois democracy, which proclaims but never practises national equality, socialist democracy guarantees the peoples equal rights and opportunities, and creates conditions for resolving national problems in accordance with the basic interests of working people of different nationalities.' This approach points up the distinctive features of our Soviet socialist federation.

The USSR consists of republics with economies based on socialist property and the socialist economic system. They have an identical social structure comprising the working class, collective farmers and working intelligentsia united by their common communist ideals. Hence, there is no socio-economic basis for class and, consequently, for national antagonisms.

A special feature of Soviet socialist federalism is that the USSR is built on the political foundation of Soviets of Working People's Deputies. Consistent democratism and the Soviets' closeness and accessibility enables them to rally many millions of people of different nationalities around the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, and to secure broad popular participation in government.

Soviet federalism rests upon the free and broad expression of the will of peoples which exercised their right to self-determination and united voluntarily in a fraternal family of equal and sovereign

socialist national republics. Consonant with the principles of proletarian internationalism and democratic centralism, our multinational state assures the optimum harmony of the common interests of the Soviet nations with the national interests of each people, a harmony of centralized government and uniform policy in all social spheres with the broad creative initiative and independence of the members of the federation, strengthening their friendship and co-operation.

The fraternal friendship and mutual assistance of the Soviet peoples and the economic, political and defensive power of our Soviet state are a dependable foundation for the sovereignty of each union republic. Sovereignty is also guaranteed by the constitutional rights of the republics, such as independent guidance of state, economic and socio-cultural development, with each republic adopting its own economic plan and budget. The union republics have their own constitutions, legislation, and organs of state. Their territory may not be altered without their consent, and each retains the right of free withdrawal from the federation. Thus, a union republic exercises its powers independently, save in matters in the competence of the USSR under the Union Constitution.

An outstanding role in developing and perfecting the federation belongs to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the guiding force of our society. In keeping with Marxist-Leninist theory, the Party assures singleness of purpose and action in all the constituents of the Soviet multinational state and fortifies the union of the fraternal peoples. Therefore, to understand the nature and mechanism of the Soviet federation one must first understand the Party's role as the leading force in our society.

It is a credit to our Party and the Soviet state that they did not stop at merely decreeing equality. Truly enormous work was done to secure real and viable equality for all republics and to overcome the historical disparities in economic levels, literacy and assimilation of modern material and spiritual culture. This was accomplished by fraternal cooperation and selfless aid to the formerly more backward areas by all the other peoples, especially the Russian. And we are legitimately proud of the results. Take Kirghizia, one of the most backward outskirts of the former Russian empire. The Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic of today has a developed industry, its own highly skilled working class, a large contingent of researchers, technicians and intellectuals, and a national Academy of Sciences.

CPSU economic policy as embodied in the 24th Congress Directives and the Ninth Five-Year Economic Development Plan for 1971-1975, envisages continued progress in all union republics. The projected distribution of productive forces and correlation of growth rates in industry and agriculture is oriented on further balancing their economic levels. The Ninth Five-Year Plan sets industrial growth in the Turkmen Republic at 64 per cent, in Moldavia at 62 and Kazakhstan at 59, with a Union mean of 47.

Education in the spirit of Soviet patriotism, pride in our socialist

country and its imposing achievements, internationalism, respect for all nations and nationalities, and intolerance of nationalism, chauvinism and national exclusiveness, constitute another important area of Party work assuring closer friendship and cooperation among our peoples.

In this manner the Communist Party secures the efficient functioning of the Soviet federation as a form of state embodying the real equality and fraternal cooperation of all Soviet nations and nationalities.

Question: Bourgeois scholars often refer to a crisis of federalism and maintain that the Soviet Union, too, has not escaped its effects. Is there anything to justify these contentions?

Answer: What I have already said largely refutes the inventions about a crisis of Soviet federalism. The immense successes in communist construction, the ever stronger friendship of our peoples and the economic and cultural growth of all the Soviet republics are clear evidence of the viability and constructive potential of our federative state. The country's national income has grown nine-fold against prewar 1940. But let me add a few words.

The talk about a crisis of federalism is based, ultimately, on the objective tendency towards concentration of production and comprehensive economy in the federative framework. In the conditions of state-monopoly capitalism this implies oppression and discrimination against weaker nations and exploitation of less developed areas, creating the basis for unavoidable contradictions between the center and periphery. And capitalist ideologues mechanically apply the same formula to the Soviet Union, ignoring the fundamental specifics, the political and economic pillars, of Soviet federation. Yet Soviet federalism, being based on people's power and the socialist system of economy, assures the organic fusion of such fundamental principles as democratic centralism, the sovereignty and equality of union republics and their independence and initiative in matters of economic and socio-cultural development. It is not counterposition of the center to the periphery but sensible and adequate harmony of the interests of the USSR (i.e., the common interests of all the union republics) and the interests of each republic that constitutes the essence of relationships in the Soviet socialist federation. Concentration of production, its specialization and cooperation, have enabled us to build up the USSR economy into an interconnected complex encompassing the republican economies and developing under a state plan in the interests of the country as a whole and each republic in particular.

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR and its Presidium and other federal bodies deal with every problem in line with the principle of harmonizing the interests of the Union with those of its constituent republics. To find the optimal solution is sometimes not easy, but the search for such a solution is greatly facilitated by the structure of Union agencies, which takes into account the federal character of our state, and by broad representation of the republics in these agencies. The highest representative body of the state, the

Supreme Soviet of the USSR, has two equal chambers, the Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities. This structure makes it possible, when enacting laws, approving economic plans or the state budget, or making other decisions, to combine the common interests of all of the country's peoples with the particular interests of the republics and other national-state entities and take account of national and local specifics. On the Soviet of Nationalities, the union republics are represented, irrespective of area or population, by an identical number of deputies – 32. This chamber also includes representatives of all autonomous republics and regions and all national areas. The Constitution also provides for union republic representation in other federal agencies. Representatives of all union republics are elected Deputy Chairmen of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. The chairmen of the union republics' Council of Ministers are ex officio members of the Soviet government and the chairmen of the Union republics' Supreme Courts are members of the Supreme Court of the USSR by the same rule. Naturally, controversies arise now and then when draft laws, economic plans and the state budget come up for discussion in the USSR Supreme Soviet or the standing commissions of its chambers. But careful study helps hammer out solutions meeting the interests of all Soviet peoples.

At every stage of development, competences are redistributed between the Union and the republics in the most rational manner to suit the concrete conditions and tasks of communist construction. In the legislative sphere we see to it that centralized federal decision on matters requiring uniform regulation throughout the federation are in harmony with the constituent republics' laws reflecting national and other specifics. This applies, above all, to decision-making on matters under joint federal and republican jurisdiction. The basic legislation enacted by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for this or that economic or government sphere presupposes enactment by the republics of laws or codes concretizing and elaborating the provisions of the federal law. The union republics have in recent years adopted new civil, criminal and procedural codes, labor, matrimonial and family codes, health laws and land codes. Every union republic, being a full-fledged member of the Soviet federation, takes part in the framing of its home and foreign policy.

The Soviet federation today plays a notable part in communist building. The Party Program stresses the need to strengthen the Union, make full use of the forms of the Soviet peoples' national statehood and perfect them.

Question: The Soviet Union's economic, socio-political, scientific, technological and cultural progress was crowned by the building of a developed socialist society which guarantees complete national equality, as you have demonstrated. But is there still a national question?

Answer: The problems traditionally described as the 'national question,' that is, ending national oppression and establishing na-

tional equality, are a thing of the past in our country. All Soviet men and women – Russians, Letts, Georgians, Ukrainians, Kazakhs, Moldavians, Jews or Yakuts – have equal rights and equal opportunities to receive an education, get a job, enjoy social benefits, be civil servants or use their abilities in production, science or the arts. In everyday life and in intercourse with people, national origin has lost its former meaning. In this sense, we no longer have a national question. However, problems arising from the need to perfect relations between nations, from the particular interests of the various nations and nationalities, from their specifics, persist in even a developed socialist society and are unlikely to disappear as long as nations exist. I think, therefore, that one should speak of the specifics of relations between Soviet nations.

Our Party maintains that even at this stage we must take careful account of national specifics and seek a proper combination of the national with the international. 'The Party will continue to strengthen the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by steadfastly pursuing its Leninist policy to foster the prosperity of socialist nations and bring them gradually closer together,' said L. I. Brezhnev at the 24th Party Congress.

The two-fold process of nations attaining prosperity and drawing closer together is an objective law, and the Party and the state give it added impulse in all their activities. I have already spoken of such aspects of our national policy as the effort to raise the republics' economies and cultures to the same level step by step and to develop and perfect the state and the forms of the Soviet peoples' national statehood. Our Party has always seen it as a key task to promote and perfect friendship among the peoples of our country. Every recurrence of nationalism, directed against our peoples' internationalist unity, is firmly repulsed by the Party.

Material and spiritual values are exchanged more intensively and migration between republics is growing, with a continuous exchange of workers, scientists and artists. The population of every republic is a multinational entity. This necessitates a common language. All Soviet nations and nationalities have voluntarily chosen Russian as the medium of communication. We see our task in applying the principle of voluntary choice and in fostering the development of the languages of all Soviet nations and nationalities. We promote the growth of national cultures and encourage their mutual enrichment and closer bonds, fostering the florescence of the internationalist features of culture.

A new historical community of men, the Soviet people, has come into being in our country. It is based on a common economic socio-political and cultural life, a common ideology, Marxism-Leninism, the common interests of the working people and the communist ideals of our Party and the working class. The Soviet people are no abstract concept. Progressive processes are under way bringing nations closer together, engendering common, internationalist features, observable in labor, private life, and the people's mentality.

We owe these results to the victory of socialism and to our Party's consistent internationalist policy. It is on this basis that we settle problems of the relations between the Soviet Union's peoples and nationalities today.

Question: Lenin's ideas about the national question and their realization by the Party are very important to the international working-class and Communist movement today. The peoples freed from colonial bondage are faced with formidable tasks in building up their statehood. In some developed bourgeois states, national and racial antagonisms have become more acute. And many bourgeois ideologists draw from this the far-fetched conclusion that we are living in an 'age of nationalism' and that once nationalist trends engulf the world, they will lead to crises and the disintegration of multinational states. What is your opinion of those forecasts?

Answer: In recent decades the problem of relations between nations really has acquired special significance in many countries and areas of the world. In some cases, indeed, it has bred serious international conflicts. Racism and chauvinism arouse legitimate public concern; they must be, and are, rebuffed by the revolutionary, progressive forces.

National problems and conflicts that arise today vary in character and it would be wrong to measure them by one and the same yardstick. The class approach to national problems is an imperative of Marxist-Leninist theory. Communists always distinguish between, say, the nationalism of an oppressed nation and that of the oppressor nation. Even in the case of the nationalism of a liberation movement, apart from its democratic and progressive aspect Marxist-Leninists are aware of the possibility of reactionary features surfacing in certain circumstances. It is from this standpoint that our Party approaches national problems.

The chief international significance of the five-decades-long experience of the Soviet multinational state is not that it has produced model solutions of the national problem which are final and immutable in detail or form, but that our experience is indicative of the correctness and effectiveness of a national policy tested and carried on according to class criteria. After all, it is a fact that the voluntary union and lasting friendship of the peoples of our country developed in the course of a joint revolutionary class struggle and the subsequent transformation of society on socialist lines. The experience of our multi-national state is of historic significance because it has shown that socialism is the only basis on which the national question can be settled in every respect.

Again, it is from a class angle that one should consider what is occasionally called the 'explosion of nationalism' in today's world. Domination by monopoly and the imperialist bourgeoisie necessarily leads to a policy of colonial and neo-colonial suppression, a policy of oppression and discrimination against national minorities. At the same time, the national liberation fight against imperialism is gaining in intensity and democratic movements for national and racial equality are expanding. In other words, sharpening national

antagonisms are a characteristic of the deepening general crisis of capitalism.

The appearance of strain as a trend in national relationships is, therefore, a product of the capitalist system. To present this trend as universal, or worldwide, would mean ignoring the facts. Everyone knows of imperialism's propaganda attempts to aver non-existent 'centrifugal nationalist trends' in the Soviet Union, to allege infringements of the national interests of various peoples, and so on. These claims have nothing to do with reality, with the actual development of the Soviet Union. The future will undoubtedly confirm again and again the fundamental conclusion that socialism alone guarantees the genuine equality and unbreakable friendship and brotherhood of nations and nationalities.

Question: It is well known that internationalist principles are a pillar of both the home and foreign policy of the Soviet Union. The harmony of the national and international objectives and interests in Soviet foreign policy has attracted the attention of many of our readers. Could you outline the approach of the Party and the state to this question?

Answer: I must stress that the foreign policy interests of the Soviet Union are entirely in keeping with the fundamental interests of world socialism and the international Communist, working-class and national liberation movement. The main objectives of the foreign policy of our Party and state are to create together with other socialist countries, favorable international conditions for building socialism and communism, to strengthen the unity of the socialist commonwealth, foster solidarity with the international Communist and working-class movement, support the national liberation movement, promote cooperation with the countries freed from colonial dependence, uphold peace and international security, advance the principle of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems and repulse imperialist forces of aggression. These are the distinguishing features of our internationalist class policy.

The policy of peace and socialist internationalism has been a guiding principle of the Soviet state over the past half century. You will recall that immediately after the formation of the USSR the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee, the then supreme government body, announced in a statement directed to the nations of the world that the Union of Soviet Republics would work for friendly cooperation among all countries.

The international activity which our Party and state have been carrying on in line with the specific, far-reaching foreign policy program approved by the 24th Party Congress allows us to repeat that statement today. The Decision on the 50th anniversary of the USSR stresses that the Soviet Union acts on the world scene as a force committed to a firm and consistent policy of peace and friendship, upholding the Leninist principles of equality of the peoples and firmly opposing colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism, class or national oppression in any form.

The internationalism of Soviet foreign policy materializes, first

of all, in acts fortifying friendship, all-round cooperation and mutual aid in relations with other socialist countries. We always want to be active participants in the coordination of the foreign policy of brother parties and countries, to deepen our cooperation with them, and this purpose is effectively served by the Comprehensive Program for socialist economic integration agreed and adopted last year.

The Soviet Union gives its unqualified support to the peoples fighting courageously against colonialists and imperialist aggressors. Nor is it a question of moral and political support alone, but also of various forms of material aid. The Soviet people are proud of their contribution to the struggle which the patriots of Vietnam and other countries of Indochina are gallantly carrying on for their national independence. The Soviet Union fully and steadfastly supports the Arab peoples' fight against the Israeli invaders, for the liberation of the occupied areas.

The Soviet Union's peace proposals to capitalist countries likewise reveal the internationalism of Soviet foreign policy, for they take into account the interests of the working people of both the Soviet Union and all other countries of the world. The concept of European security advanced by the Soviet Union and fraternal socialist countries includes the idea of broad international contacts and ties in Europe. If put into effect, it would make Europe a continent of peace and extensive good-neighborly economic, political and cultural cooperation meeting the aspirations of all European peoples and, indeed, all mankind.

We have lately noted with satisfaction that numerous Asian countries also show interest in a system of collective security. In this connection we should like to stress that, as we see it, the principles of this system must include strict equality of all states, respect for their national sovereignty and territorial integrity, and growing cooperation.

Since the 24th Congress the Soviet Union has taken important steps towards easing tension in Europe and convening an all-Europe conference on security and cooperation. Its efforts have made for a tangible improvement in the political situation on the continent, which expresses itself, among other things, in the progress of Soviet-French relations and in the conclusion of the four-power agreement on West Berlin. The coming into force of the treaties between the Soviet Union and FRG and between Poland and the FRG, confirming the inviolability of the present European frontiers and dealing a serious blow to revanchist and militarist elements, we regard as a big advance. Our constructive disarmament proposals had a worldwide echo. Already there are some real and positive results, due primarily to the constructive and consistent policy of the Soviet Union. The treaties with Egypt, India and Iraq signed by the Soviet Union further peace and international cooperation and help to promote the national independence of states freed from imperialist domination. Summit talks between Soviet leaders and the statesmen of a number of capitalist and developing countries, including

the talks held during the U.S. President's recent visit to the Soviet Union, have become an important aspect of our policy of implementing the peace plan put forward by the Congress. The agreements reached by the Soviet Union and United States are a new constructive step towards lasting world peace.

The Soviet position on crucial political problems of the world expresses the national interests of our country. At the same time, everyone will see that it is thoroughly internationalist in substance, because it accords fully with the fundamental interests and aspirations of the masses and progressive forces across the world. And this position was reaffirmed in the decisions of the CC CPSU last May.



Dialectics of national and international in socialist world system

This was the subject of a conference held in Prague under the auspices of this journal on April 5-7, 1972. Scholars from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania and the Soviet Union, and the representatives of this journal of 34 Communist and Workers' parties, attended.

KEY PROBLEM OF SOCIALIST INTER-STATE RELATIONS

the problem defined • a few topical aspects • the international impact

The Editor-in-Chief of this journal, K. I. Zarodov, Dr. Hist., noted in the opening remarks that with socialism's growth into a world system, the attention of Communists was focused on the new type of relations among socialist countries, based on a dialectical harmony of the interests of individual countries with the common international interests of the socialist system.

The emergence and development of socialist international relations are an important and in many ways novel object of study. Especially important is the right approach. Rashness, subjectivism and voluntarism are impermissible between socialist countries. Referring to national policy, V. I. Lenin wrote in 1921: 'The matter is of world magnitude, without exaggeration.' And he added: 'We must be more than strict . . . It is no joking matter; here we must be a thousand times cautious.' (*Complete Works*, in Russian, Vol. 53, p. 190).

But the greatest tact, the deepest understanding of mass psychology and the most profound respect for national feelings do not permit either concessions to nationalism or departures from the agreed internationalist line. 'Marxism cannot be reconciled with nationalism,' Lenin pointed out, 'be it even of the "most just," "purest," most refined and civilized brand. In place of all forms of nationalism Marxism advances internationalism' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 20, p. 34).

The Marxist-Leninist classics taught Communists never to slacken international class solidarity, the source of their strength and invincibility. They required them to 'fight against small-nation nar-

row-mindedness, seclusion and isolation, consider the whole and the general, subordinate the particular to the general interest' (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 347). They also stressed that "international alliance is possible only between *nations* whose existence, and internal autonomy and independence . . . are included in the concept of internationalism' (Engels to Laura Lafargue, June 20, 1893).

These passages from the classics are important for our method. Some scholars pick out only those passages in Marx, Engels and Lenin that underscore consideration for national interest and the independence of countries. They plead priority for home development, leaving international links in the shade. Yet it is a question of what national interest really is. Isolating it from international objectives – is harmful both to the country concerned and to general socialist development.

On the other hand, some denigrate the role of national interests and one-sidedly subordinate internal development to the objectives of the worldwide revolutionary process. In so doing, they also refer to the Marxist-Leninist legacy, quoting passages that call for national sacrifices to overthrow international capital, and usually 'overlook' passages showing that the existence of socialist countries, their economic achievements, are 'a gigantic force and factor of the revolution' (Lenin, *Complete Works*, in Russian, Vol. 42, p. 120).

Neither of these approaches is acceptable. References to the Marxist-Leninist classics do not make them more convincing. One-sided use of quotations emasculates Marxism's soul – its dialectics.

Lenin, we may recall, stressed the close link between the national interest of the Russian proletariat and its international duty. And his conception of the international tasks of workers organized in a state is not confined to merely aiding revolutionary forces of other countries at times of need. He called on Communists to be internationalists always, and always to have an eye on the common interests of the revolutionary struggle and world socialism.

This is as valid now as ever. To avoid bias in defining the correlation of the international and national we must use the Marxist-Leninist method, incompatible with narrow-minded nationalism and national nihilism, in a creative way.

The development of the socialist world system may be divided into three stages. In the first stage, the experience of building the new society in the USSR was, in effect, unique. (For the experience of People's Mongolia was valuable chiefly in the light of the specifics of her non-capitalist development.) The Soviet experience helped the new People's Democracies to avoid certain mistakes in socialist reconstruction. So, stressing its international worth is objectively justified. On the other hand, uncreative mechanical limitation led to certain faults, for it ignored the specifically national conditions.

By the mid-50s, this was clear to everybody. The Communist parties in the People's Democracies had acquired their own experience

of moulding new social relationships. While still using the experience of socialist construction in the USSR, they took greater account of national specifics, of the economic, political and cultural traditions of their own countries. This benefited internal development and socialist international relations. But, as attested in the documents of some fraternal parties, certain negative factors arose as well – exaggerating national peculiarities and opposing the country's own experience to the collective experience of others, and national interest to the international.

In the late 60s the socialist world system entered a new stage, requiring closer economic, political and scientific-technical cooperation among socialist countries, greater mutual assistance, and integration. The greater weight of international factors for each country and world socialism as a whole stemmed not from anyone's subjective wish, but from the objective conditions of socialist development, from the competition and confrontation with capitalism.

This is why Communist parties in socialist countries attach so much importance to the theoretical and practical problems relating to international and national interests, for they are crucial for their political and theoretical activity.

Marx, Engels and Lenin predicted that relations between socialist states would differ in quality from relations between capitalist states. They traced this difference to the principles of proletarian internationalism, chiefly mutual confidence, friendship and all-round cooperation; fraternal mutual assistance and solidarity in the common struggle against capitalism for the communist ideals; readiness to help consolidate, and to defend world socialism.

These fundamental principles of socialist international relations do not conflict with the general-democratic principles of equality, respect for sovereignty and national independence, and mutually advantageous cooperation. On the contrary, there is a clear interconnection between them. But inter-connectedness does not imply identity. The principles of proletarian internationalism have a quality of their own, for they transcend every nation's desire merely to increase its own economic potential, acknowledge the equality of socialist countries and promote free cooperation; they also stand for fraternal mutual assistance, socialist division of labor, and joint defense of the gains of world socialism. The disparity and interconnectedness of proletarian internationalist and general-democratic principles in relations among socialist countries are, therefore, an important object of study in which Marxist-Leninists cannot afford any compromise.

The dialectical alloy of the national and international was first tested in the relations between the different peoples of the Soviet Union, the 50th anniversary of which falls this year. But though stressing the international significance of the Soviet experience, we should not lose sight of the fact that it is experience of *intra-state* relations. Its proper use in inter-state relations (like the use of any other experience gained inside a social entity) is, therefore, another important object of scientific and practical study.

In his 'Theses on the National Question,' Lenin wrote: 'International culture, which is now already being systematically created by the proletariat of all countries, does not absorb "national culture" (no matter of what national group) as a whole, but accepts from *each* national culture *exclusively* those of its elements that are consistently democratic and socialist' (Vol. 19, pp. 246-247). In a broader context, this is also true of the matters at hand.

It is obvious, for example, that the experience of social relations inside a country that follows the socialist way must contain elements usable in inter-state relations. Take the experience of organizing socialist countries as *socialist communities* of all sections of the people, all nations and nationalities. It is of obvious historical value for inter-state relations. Referring to the first such socialist community, built in the framework of the former Russian empire, Lenin listed its main principles: mutual confidence and peace, national freedom and equality, peaceful cohabitation and fraternal cooperation. These are doubtless also relevant for inter-state socialist relations.

It is also obvious, on the other hand, that not all principles governing relations inside socialist countries can be used in inter-state relations. The structure of relations inside a country—be it national or multi-national—consists not only of horizontal relationships (national equality, fraternal cooperation, division of labor, mutual assistance, etc.), but also of vertical ones, which require administrative organs, a central governmental authority. Clearly, the vertical structures required in national state entities are inapplicable in inter-state relations. That is a thing of the future, following the compounding in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist scientific forecast of national-state economic complexes into a socialist (communist) world cooperative administered under one plan by the peoples of all countries. At present, however, we can deal only with principles governing relations between similar *sovereign* states and the mechanics of cooperation.

The character of the contradictions in socialist countries' inter-state relations is an object of controversy. History has borne out Lenin's thesis that, while eliminating antagonisms, socialism does not rule out contradictions. 'The present-day socialist world, with its successes and prospects, with all its problems,' L. I. Brezhnev said in the CC CPSU Report to the 24th Party Congress, 'is still a young and growing social organism, where not everything has settled and where much still bears the marks of earlier historical epochs. The socialist world is forging ahead and is continuously improving. Its development naturally runs through struggle between the new and the old, through the resolution of internal contradictions.'

The special feature of the contradictions in the socialist world system is that, being non-antagonistic, they can be settled 'on the basis of proletarian internationalism, through comradely discussion and voluntary fraternal cooperation.' That is the fundamental approach, but it does not cover all the aspects of the problem. Our

theoretical ideas need to be developed and made more concrete.

At the 1969 International Meeting we heard divergent opinions on this score. Some even said that there could be not only contradictions, but 'antagonism,'* one that could lead to armed conflicts, and that 'war between socialist states can be nuclear, like war against imperialist aggressors.'**

In the present stage, with socialism not yet fully victorious in some countries of the socialist world system, objective contradictions in its development may, indeed, deteriorate under the influence of alien class forces. As a result, non-antagonistic contradictions between socialist countries may be very acute, growing into fundamental differences and conflicts if the leadership of some country departs from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

As for the above statements, they confuse some relevant points. A socialist state (meaning a country where socialism is consolidated as a social system) and a state belonging to the socialist world system are not the same. Historical zigzags, even retreats, are possible in countries where, though they are part of the socialist world system, socialism has not yet gained full victory.

In other words, the transition from the old to the new type of international relations is not yet over, and socialist principles operate at different degrees in the foreign policy of countries constituting the socialist world system. And if some serious deformation occurs in the social relationships at home, with aims and principles alien to socialism gaining ascendancy in the country's foreign policy, that policy may collide, even antagonistically, with the policy of the other socialist countries. However, assuming some state chooses to start a war against the socialist countries, could we regard it as a socialist state?

It does not follow that we should take a simplistic view of the relations in the socialist world system, reducing them to the sole and unconditional form of friendship among all the countries in the system. This would make it difficult for us to refute those anti-Communist concepts which portray unfriendly relations that may arise between Party and state leaderships of individual countries as, of all things, 'disintegration' of the socialist world system. Not less wrong, however, is the other extreme, which identifies the nature of the socialist world with the capitalist, and its foreign policy with the 'power' policy of capitalist states (the point of departure in, say, the 'two super-powers' concept).

We should stress again and again that any aggravation of contradictions in socialist inter-state relations to the point of sharp and undisguised political struggle, developing into antagonism, is an anomaly. The rule, on the other hand, is the existence of non-antagonistic contradictions against a background of coinciding basic interests and ultimate aims. This is why they can be resolved by comparing and agreeing different standpoints and aligning na-

*See *Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow 1969, Prague, 1969*, p. 130.

***Ibid.*, p. 596.

tional and international interests on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles, which results in closer, genuine and voluntary unity.

The socialist countries' relations with the capitalist world are another important point, for they have a strong bearing on the harmony of national and international interests. It has long been proved, in theory and in practice, that cooperation among the socialist states does not rule out ties between countries of opposite social formations. Leninism regards them as an objective necessity, the arena of competition between the two systems, of class struggle.

Every socialist economy has an external potential, one part of which it realizes within the socialist world system and the other through ties with non-socialist countries. Certainly, each socialist country distributes its external potential by socio-geographic regions as it deems best, depending on its resources and requirements. But there are also general objective laws. These could perhaps be defined as follows: first, economic relations within the socialist system should, in volume and rate, surpass those with countries outside the system, though temporary departures from this rule may occur; second, the link-ups in the decisive fields should be kept well inside the socialist system, and the socialist division of labor should be the principal and regulating factor in economic relations with other countries.

In theory we may regard as incontrovertible that there is a definite limit to relations between socialist and capitalist countries. Exceeding it may jeopardize the socio-political interests of the former, their state monopoly in foreign trade, etc., and the position of the socialist world system on the international scene. It would be useful, therefore, to determine this limit, so that economic relations with the capitalist world should conform with the requirements of the socialist community.

Problems relating to the harmony of national and international interests in the socialist system are international in significance. Correct alignment determines the progress of world socialism, brings out its advantages in the historical competition against capitalism, and neutralizes capitalist attempts to subvert the power and influence of socialist states.

Anti-Communist propaganda would have us believe that national interests clash with the international objectives of the socialist countries. After 25 years of the socialist system, it claims, the centrifugal forces of nationalism are getting the better of the centripetal forces of proletarian internationalism. Holding forth about the mutual relations of the European socialist countries, Zbigniew Brzezinski first articulated this idea in the mid-60s. 'East Europe,' he said, 'is where the dream of communist internationalism lies buried.'*

This and similar contentions form the theoretical basis for the anti-Communist strategy of subversion, encouraging nationalist sentiments and alienation in relations between socialist countries. It would be a mistake to underrate the dangers. Imperialism is trying

*Quoted from *Time*, March 18, 1966.

to take advantage of nationalist feelings that are the 'by-product' of rapid socio-economic and socio-political development, of the consolidation of sovereignty, growth of national consciousness and pride, and the like. Also, it is eager to exploit prejudices surviving from past wars between countries that have followed the socialist way since a quarter of a century ago, and the chauvinist spirit cultivated in years gone by. Lastly, bourgeois ideologues are aware that nationalism is actuated not only by the baneful legacy of pre-revolutionary times, but also by mistakes and deformations in home and foreign policy.

In certain situations (created inter alia, by opportunist mistakes of the leadership) imperialist subversion may have a far-reaching effect and contribute to a counter-revolutionary development. So, an analysis of the causes of this and of the weak links in the socialist system, of the character and symptoms of 'creeping' counter-revolution, is vital for our social science.

Therefore, we cannot but stress the importance of criticizing anti-Communist and opportunist concepts, the speaker said in conclusion. And for our criticism to be effective, it should amount to a well-argued examination of what we are criticizing, and not to a mere string of 'counter-quotations.' We should not tar all the criticized with the same brush. Bourgeois and candidly anti-Communist concepts should be distinguished from misconceptions originating in the labor movement. True, they may be akin in substance, but are different in motivation and reflect the standpoints of different class forces.

The struggle against Right- and Left-opportunist postures calls for further deep study of the international relations of the new type, for a search for the positive ideal of cooperation, a positive program of joint action consolidating world socialism.

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL INTERESTS; THEIR CONTENT AND INTERCONNECTION

*the social essence of national and international interests •
requirements of the socialist world system and individual countries
• common class interests – the basis for the dialectical unity
of the national and international*

For the workers' states national and international interests are important stimuli in international relations. The two groups of interests are intimately related. But this does not eliminate the need for distinguishing between them. The conference looked into the essence and the forms of socialist national and international interests, and more specific definitions were given to these categories and to the nature of their dialectical inter-connection.

To define the dialectics of the national and international in the socialist world system, said Professor G. Tsonkov, Dr. Phil. (Sofia), we must first of all study the social nature and correlation of the

national and international interests of the socialist community as a whole. 'The economic relations of every given society,' Engels pointed out, 'present themselves in the first place as *interests*' ('The Housing Question'). This is also true of the internal and international – political, juridical, moral, etc. – relations of socialist countries.

In the setting of victorious socialism, the diverse interests of countries are the requirements of nations of an essentially new quality. Their community in the basic and main areas does not rule out dialectical contradictions in content and function. In each country capitalism has left behind many unresolved economic, cultural, educational, moral, psychological and other problems. But that is not all. Even if we brush aside the residual influence of the old type of contradictions and take socialist national interests in, so to speak, their 'pure form,' they are dialectically contradictory *per se*. This is due, on the one hand, to requirements inherited from the preceding stage of maintaining and advancing the nation, and, on the other, to the aims of building socialism and communism, and the knowledge that internal problems cannot be resolved without the aid of, and close cooperation with, other socialist states.

The main and determinative element is the socialist content of the national interests – firstly, because the latter arise on the basis of the socialist mode of production, under the guiding influence of the Marxist-Leninist ideology and policy, and, secondly, because national interests are intrinsically linked with the international interests of the socialist system as a whole. Any attempt at exaggerating and making an absolute of the former, and obscuring the latter, leads to a revival of nationalism.

The socialist international interests are a no less complex conception. Their social nature is also dialectically contradictory, because they represent the international interests of individual socialist nations, on the one hand, and the interests of the socialist world system as a whole, of the entire international working class, on the other. In fact, they are the most adequate reflection of the historical mission of the proletariat, the most progressive class of modernity.

International interests should not be seen as merely the external interests of socialist countries. They are closely related to the internal life of the peoples building the new society, to their vital requirements, which grow over dialectically from domestic into international and serve as a dependable basis for the unity and all-round cooperation of the socialist countries.

International interests should not be divorced from the interests of individual socialist countries, for they stem from, and are manifested through, the latter. The connection between the two is conclusively expressed by the Marxist-Leninist postulate of the dialectical unity of the general and particular. For this reason, in both content and function international interests are not just the requirement of the socialist system, of the international working class, but also the immediate and basic requirement of the indivi-

dual socialist countries, the national contingents of the working class.

While absorbing the more essential features of the national interests of individual countries, the general also introduces a qualitatively new, typically international, element into the particular – primarily the common stake in consolidating and advancing the socialist community as a whole.

Professor *J. Szabo*, Cand. Econ. (Budapest), defined the content of, and interconnection between, the interests of socialist countries. The existence of independent national economic interests is a concomitant of the existence of nations and of their disparate conditions. There are similar and dissimilar national interests. Among the reasons for this are the differences in economic levels, class structure and national composition, and in the extent of socialist reconstruction; the specifics of the international situation and the peculiarities of historico-political and national traditions; differences in the degree of concentration of national production, the capacity of the home market, in resources, raw materials and manpower, in the geography, and, as a result, also in the degree of participation in the international division of labor.

In certain conditions a country may tend to ignore international interests and seek unilateral advantages (e.g., in terms of trade). Yet the fact that national and international socialist interests coincide is to be traced not only to the identity of production relations, but also to the dual tendency in the development of the modern productive forces: it strengthens the socialist national economies, but also forges increasingly closer bonds between them. Scientific-technical progress gives added impulse for the productive forces to cross national frontiers (especially of small and middle-sized countries). The productive forces become more and more international. Therefore, the economy of a sovereign socialist state is a real category, on the one hand, and an organic part of the socialist world's or regional economy, on the other, though the character and implications of the interconnection may vary.

Rapid scientific-technical growth sets a priority on international economic integration. In the Common Market, for example, the link-up of national economic complexes with the regional international economy has gone quite far, despite the presence of antagonistic contradictions. Yet in principle the socialist countries have far greater objective and subjective opportunities for qualitatively new international integration – the objective of the Comprehensive Program adopted by the 25th CMEA session in 1971.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party rules out unilateral national advantages detrimental to the socialist community. The Party is answerable both to the Hungarian people, and to the international working-class movement. The socialist countries' community of interests, as we see it, encompasses not only the economy, but also politics.

Professor *A. I. Sobolev*, Dr. Phil. (Moscow), stressed that though economic interest is the material basis for all social interests, the

dialectics of the national and international goes much deeper. It should not be reduced to just analyzing and acknowledging national economic interests in politics.

The concept of national economic interests as such does not always fully reflect the aggregate socio-economic, political and spiritual interests of a country, or, especially, its ultimate aims. A really profound analysis, it seems, should distinguish between current, long-term and ultimate interests. They have a common foundation, and their sources are the same. But they are not identical. One example: the Soviet Union supplies the fraternal countries in the CMEA framework with an immense and ever increasing amount of unprocessed raw materials – coal, oil, iron ore, cotton, and the like. This is not always profitable commercially. We may even say that it is unprofitable in terms of current or immediate economic interests. But it is profitable from the standpoint of the ultimate aims of historical development, of consolidating the socialist system, of its confrontation with the capitalist world. This is why the Soviet Union endeavors to meet the needs of other socialist countries in raw materials.

Scholars would do well to look into the genesis and essence of the interconnection between the national and international in the socialist world system. The dialectics of the national and international is conditioned, firstly, by the internationalization of the productive forces, especially dynamic in the setting of the scientific-technical revolution; secondly, by the main objective laws governing the growth of socialist society, its confrontation with capitalism; thirdly, by the historically conditioned objective requirement of enhancing the role and activity of the socialist community, of each socialist country, in the worldwide revolutionary process. In other words, the dialectics of the national and international should be viewed in the context of international revolutionary strategy.

For example, does the compounding of the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution express only the national, or also the international, interest of each country? It is unquestionably not only a national, but also an international interest – a duty and contribution of each socialist country to the competition against capitalism. And it cannot be achieved in the framework of just one country, that is, without the socialist international division of labor and comradely mutual assistance. Promoting only national interests, while ignoring or underrating the advantages of the socialist international division of labor, in practice impairs both the national and international interests.

Regrettably, there are still theorists who conceive this in a narrowly economic context, giving priority to distinctly transient and limited national interests. They hold that a country can use the solid benefits of internationalism and take shelter behind a powerful shield of the socialist camp, and yet not participate actively in the confrontation between socialism and imperialism, or even balance between the two systems and exploit the contradictions between them. The theoretical fallacy and social and political faults of this posture are obvious.

Question: Are the objective pillars of the dialectics of the national and international in the socialist world system only economic, or also political and ideological?

A. I. Sobolev: The dialectics of the national and international is determined by three main objective factors: first, the economic factor, primarily internationalization of the productive forces; second, the historical confrontation and competition between the two world systems, which covers the economic, political, ideological and all other social spheres; third, the involvement of the socialist system in the world revolutionary process, which also has objective aspects going beyond the economic field.

Professor **M. Orzechowski**, Dr. Hist. (Wroclaw, Poland), agreed that it is wrong to reduce the national and international interest to economics. The interests of the socialist countries are the sum-total of political, economic, cultural, and socio-psychological elements. Theoretically and practically, there may be a situation in which, say, political interests are at variance with economic interests while the national consciousness of the masses does not entirely correspond to the objective interests of the nation or the socialist community. So long as there are nations, national consciousness and national-state economic and political complexes, there may also be contradictions between national and international interests, between a nation and the socialist community. The situation is complicated by growing economic cooperation with the capitalist countries, on the one hand, and the intensifying contest between the two world systems and more imperialist, anti-socialist subversion, on the other.

The connection between the national and international in the policy of Communist parties is particularly important. Poland's Communists have always held that no nation can vindicate its socialist interests without cooperating with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries or without bearing in mind the international interests of the socialist commonwealth. The national and international are two aspects of the phenomenon. There is no reason to affirm that the wealthier each country, each socialist nation, the stronger and more solid, *necessarily*, the socialist community. To say so means treating the problem from an abstract, metaphysical standpoint not unlike the well-known bourgeois contention that the richer the individual and the family, the richer the nation, or the state.

The dialectical approach to the interaction of the national and international in the socialist world system connotes an awareness of the growing importance of the international factor. This is not to say, of course, that the national interest is becoming secondary. The dialectics of development in this case consist in the inevitable extension of the international meaning of the national. The deepening processes of socialist integration are evidence of this objective trend.

International socialist relations, said **S. Purev**, Cand. Phil. (Ulan Bator), are one of the main spheres in which national and interna-

tional interests manifest themselves. We must combine the two if we are to shape the new type of international relations, the expansion of which also adds to the degree to which national and international interests are put into effect. Lenin it was who pointed to the interconnection of these two aspects.

The dialectical interaction of the national and international will be important to relations between socialist countries until national-state distinctions have been removed. These distinctions account for the protracted and parallel existence of both interest groups. As the new society is built and national and state distinctions are surmounted, the sphere of the nationally specific shrinks and gradually merges with the international sphere.

Each socialist country as a sovereign state represents specific national interests, and as a component of the socialist world system – common, international interests. The international interests of the socialist community include the main universal elements which are also elements of the national interests of its every member. Herein lies their dialectical unity, which is due to their new socialist content and proletarian class character.

Harmonious development of the entire socialist system is a condition for the progress of each country. By the same token, the progress of each socialist country is a prerequisite of progress of the whole system. This is an intricate process, however. Lenin wrote that 'anybody who tackles partial problems without having previously settled general problems, will inevitably and at every step "come up against" those general problems without himself realizing it. To come up against them blindly in every individual case means to doom one's politics to the worst vacillation and lack of principle' (Vol. 12, p. 489). A principled policy in international relations means combining national and international interests in a way ensuring that the international, or general, prevails over the national, or particular. Needless to say, it also means taking strict account of the actual situation and the development features of each country.

The concept of 'interests,' said M. V. Senin, Dr. Ec. (Moscow), expresses an objective need in the development of diverse nations and of society as a whole. It does not depend on man's will, as Engels pointed out, but passes through his brain to transform itself into 'motives of his will' (Frederick Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*). The national and international interests of the socialist countries are two aspects of one process of social transformation on socialist lines. Every form of nationalism is expressive of an irrational view, a misconception, of the connection between the two aspects. It often translates itself into an attempt to dissociate them. The Marxist-Leninist concept of the unity of the national and international connotes the existence of a difference between them due, among other things, to distinctions between socialist nations in economic and social development level and in historical and cultural traditions, and to the structure of socialism as a world system.

Economic cooperation among the socialist countries at this stage promotes the economy of each country, and this is one of the indications of its effectiveness. However, national interests correspond to international ones and harmoniously combine with them only if the economic development of each socialist country accords with the objective law of economic internationalization. In this sense, international interests have priority.

National interests cannot be realized nor upheld without promoting international relations. This is an objective law of the formation of world socialism. There is a need for close unity of socialist nations in the struggle and competition against world capitalism, for the participation of each country in international socialist cooperation and mutual assistance, and so on.

Going back to Engels' view of the concept of interests, we may say that the law of economic internationalization under socialism and the objective necessity for the economic consolidation of the socialist countries prompted the CMEA countries long ago to adopt a constructive long-range program of cooperation. The CMEA Statutes were a first step. Their ideas were subsequently carried forward in the Fundamental Principles of the International Socialist Division of Labor approved by the 15th CMEA Session (1962). They have since taken the form of a comprehensive legal instrument laying down the objectives of integration and the tasks it involves, and specifying the fields and principles of joint activity, the stages, forms and methods of implementation, the rights and duties of the parties, and so on.

In a joint paper presented to the conference, Professor C. Vlad, Dr. Phil., and N. Copoiu (Bucharest) noted that the dialectics of the national and international in relations between socialist countries should be considered in the light of the unity of the national and international tasks of the working class and the Communist Party. The working-class movement is international in scope, character and main objectives. This international aspect is inseparable from the national. The national specifics of a party's struggle for socialism are not merely a particular feature but the concrete form in which the general laws and requirements of socialist building manifest themselves. Such is the correlation of the national to the international interests of the socialist countries, and they should not be opposed to each other.

To uphold national interests is the supreme patriotic, moral and class duty of Communist parties, the measure of their bond with the people, the working class of their country. Building socialism is the main contribution of each people to the strength of the socialist world system, to the effort to increase the role of socialist countries in the solution of the fundamental problems of our time and strengthen the impact of socialist ideas throughout the world. To be sure, internationalist duty goes farther than that. It implies solidarity, close cooperation and mutual assistance in the battle against imperialism, for the triumph of socialism and communism. But this does not detract from the role and internationalist signi-

ficance of each nation's effort in building the new society. This effort neither can nor should be opposed to greater cooperation with other socialist countries, and has nothing to do with national narrow-mindedness, or nationalism. Nationalism ignores the rights of other nations and nationalities and impinges on their legitimate interests.

The national interests of a country should not be identified with the international interests of socialism as a system. On the other hand, international interests are no justification for underestimating, let alone infringing, the national interests or sovereignty of any socialist country.

Speaking of relations between socialist and capitalist countries, it is important to note that the interests of world socialism must not be posed against the need for individual socialist countries to promote these relations. In this as in other issues, it is wrong to apply abstractly the thesis that national interests are subordinate to international. What are the national and what the international interests of a socialist country none but its people and Communist Party can determine.

We cannot accept the view that the objectively determined content of the national and international interests of socialism must not be identified with the actual policy of a party or country. There can be no leading center determining national and international interests, for that would amount to interference in internal affairs.

Question: Don't you think there is a certain contradiction between recognizing the principles of proletarian internationalism and maintaining that only a country's Communist Party can define its international as well as national interests?

C. Vlad: Both the national and international interests of a country are for its people and Communist Party and no one else to define. Of course, every party operates in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and collectively approved documents. A different answer to this question would vindicate one party's interference in the affairs of another.

Many participants in the discussion took exception to this proposition. The Rumanian comrades' paper confuses certain concepts, *K. I. Zarodov* said. No one is going to, nor may, restrict the rights of any party. However, a country's national interests in the international arena and internationalism are not one and the same thing. Marxism-Leninism regards the national and international as a dialectical unity of opposites. An internationalist socialist interest is born primarily of the development requirements of the socialist world system as a whole, of the international revolutionary movement. It is a common interest. If so, how can it be determined by each particular country?

On the other hand, the content of the concept 'international interests' is objective, it exists irrespective of whether or not we recognize it. We can cognize these interests to one degree or another, but cannot determine their substance. It is not clear, therefore, where interference by one party in the affairs of another comes in. In practice, the substance of international interests is cognized by

Marxist-Leninist science, by international meetings of the brother parties, that is, collectively. Lastly, we must not forget that to recognize the principles of internationalism is one thing and to follow them steadfastly is another. A party can operate entirely in accordance with the principles laid down in collectively approved documents or it can do so in part only. But in the latter case it will be evident, of course, whether or not it is fulfilling its internationalist duty.

C. Vlad: Each socialist country has national and international interests. Therefore its policy is sovereign. The interests of the socialist world system as a whole are determined by the parties collectively, at meetings and conferences, which work out general principles. However, it is for each party to decide how to put them into practice. There is no forum or center which could say 'this, and only this, is the way to do it.'

Indeed, *K. I. Zarodov* said, the brother parties' international meetings do not in their documents specify how this or that party should proceed in a given situation. But their documents put on record objectively existing common interests and international principles. How can a party which has signed these documents decide for itself which of these principles it should or should not follow?

C. Vlad: Collectively evolved principles should underlie the activity of each party. The RCP believes, however, that since these principles are applied in specific conditions, it is for the party concerned to decide how.

K. I. Zarodov: Regrettably, our direct question has not been answered. We must remember that we are discussing theoretical problems and not the positions of parties.

C. Vlad and *N. Copoiu* were asked: It follows from your paper that nationalism is merely non-recognition of the equality of nations; but what about national isolation or exaggeration of national specifics? Could you specify your views on this score?

C. Vlad: Yes, that kind of exaggeration is nationalism. However, we did not propose to discuss its every aspect. We merely wanted to stress that occasionally nationalism may arise as a reaction to great-power chauvinism.

Question: A well-known requirement of Marxism-Leninism is not to think of one's nation only and to put the common interest first. It is not clear, therefore, whether the Rumanian comrades consider that in the dialectical interaction of the national and international the two aspects are perfectly equivalent or whether one aspect is decisive.

C. Vlad: We regard speculation on what is higher and more important in building socialism – the national or international – as an abstract approach to the problem. The two aspects may only be considered together.

G. Tsonkov said that as far as the dialectical materialist approach to the relationship between the international (general) and the national (particular) is concerned, it is not enough to affirm their unity. Experience confirms the primacy of the international, that is,

the most general and deep-going interest of socialism. Yet C. Vlad's paper and remarks suggest that the primary thing is to build socialism in a country. In speaking of the international, C. Vlad and N. Copoiu emphasized the decisions of international meetings without pointing out that the international is one of the main objective laws of class struggle and building socialism. The inference is that the international has no objective content and is in the nature of subjective decisions. That is why many proposition of the paper are rather unclear.

I. Cox, the representative of the CP of Great Britain on the journal, remarked that he considered the paper clear enough as a statement of the RCP position. One can agree with some of its propositions but the role of international factors in the development of the socialist world system does not seem to have been dealt with adequately.

Professor A. Wirth, Cand. Phil. (Budapest), stressed that national and international interests exist objectively. Their content is not determined by parties or governments but by the requirements of classes, of the socialist world system. The main topic of our discussion should therefore not be who determines the interests but what is their objective content. Undoubtedly, the international interest of the socialist world system is not a mechanical sum total of the national interests of the component countries. It extends beyond that, being connected with the existence of the socialist world system as a whole, with its objective requirements and their satisfaction. Needless to say, the development and growing strength of world socialism also benefit in the final analysis the national interests of every socialist country. But the interests of a country always reflect the requirements of the world system either partly or one-sidedly. Hence it is a question of the objective existence and relative independence of both the international interest of the socialist world system and the national interests of individual countries. However, there may be a partial contradiction or conflict between them. Our task is to make a correct estimation of these contradictions and find ways and means of overcoming them. Therefore, the subjective factor plays a tremendous role in the dialectics of national and international interests, because their interaction does not originate from objective factors alone. The subjective factor can play both a positive and a negative role, as when the connection between the national and international is reflected in one's consciousness one-sidedly and is distorted.

B. Mahlow (Berlin) agreed that the common interests and objectives of the socialist commonwealth are the dominant and decisive aspect of the dialectical unity of the national and international. This is a logical conclusion to be drawn from the priority of the general objective laws of socialist building and the international commitments of every socialist country.

In relations between socialist countries, the concept of the international combines the general laws of the international class struggle, the building of the new system, the development of the social-

ist world system, the internationalist policy and international solidarity of the brother countries based on them, and the countries' common tasks and ideals.

National and international interests cannot be separated, for they are inherently interconnected. Does it follow that international interests are a kind of arithmetical mean of coinciding national interests? No, it does not. First of all, the interests of socialism as a world system have their own specifics; its development follows its own laws, which transcend the objective laws of socialist building in individual countries. Secondly, treating the international as a mechanical interlacing of the national interests of various countries may result in a one-sided, nationally limited approach to the obligations which the common interests of world socialism and its intensifying confrontation with imperialism put on each socialist country. Thirdly, to accept this approach would mean ignoring the difficulty of combining the national with the international and disregarding the special role of subjective factors, such as the policy of the ruling Communist Party.

One of the prime requirements of Marxism-Leninism is to take into account the national conditions and accomplish the general tasks of revolutionary struggle and socialist building in one's own country as effectively as possible. Therefore, we cannot identify the national and international, whether directly or indirectly, because it would upset the dialectical unity of the two aspects and give preference to the national. To bear in mind only the conditions in which the party of a country is operating, and to see one's object in only doing as much as possible for the advancement of one's own country, means narrowing the substance of socialist internationalist policy. There is no automatic connection between the greatest possible contribution to the strength of one's own country and internationalist policy. This is confirmed, in particular, by the Chinese experience. The relative stabilization of China's economic development after the 'cultural revolution' can hardly be regarded as a contribution to world socialism. The Maoist leadership's moves on the international scene show that it is increasingly using China's potential against both the interests of the socialist world and, in the final analysis, those of its own people.

Taking account of national specifics, evolving and promoting socialist relations inside a society and defending one's state interests against imperialist encroachments is an important aspect of the dialectical interaction of the national and international in the policy of every brother party. But it is only *one* aspect of the matter. Life shows that each party must proceed from analysis and consideration of the totality of international class relations. Furthermore, both the requirements of one's own country (a part) and those of the socialist community (the whole) are of decisive importance in shaping policy.

The dialectical connection between the national and international also encompasses a certain discrepancy between them which does not necessarily become an obstacle to closer unity of the brother

countries. Indeed, when contradictions between national and international interests are not absolutized but are resolved through a fraternal confrontation of positions leading to mutually acceptable solutions, the overall result is greater cooperation and fruitful exchanges of experience.

The genuinely equal relations between brother parties have grown deeper at the present stage and every Party bears greater responsibility than before for the strengthening of world socialism. The dialectical, Marxist-Leninist approach demands that these processes be considered in unity. A one-sided conclusion about the need to extend rights, an evasion of international obligations, leads to what are, in effect, violations of the principle of socialist equality.

The participants' analysis of national and international socialist interests as categories clarified their content and the objective reasons for their unity and difference. It gave a fuller idea of the relationship between the interests of the socialist world system and its members and those of the revolutionary movement as a whole, of their connection with the requirements of mankind. Speakers pointed to the need to continue the study of these theoretical and political problems.

COMBINING THE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL IN THE POLICY OF BROTHER PARTIES

objective and subjective factors for combining them • the nature of contradictions in the socialist world system • the indivisibility of national and international tasks • ways and means of improving cooperation among socialist countries

As international relations of the new type develop the brother parties harmonize the interests of their country with those of other socialist countries, and also with the common interests of the socialist system. Speakers noted that an identical social system and a common ideology furnish a solid basis for combining the interests of the socialist countries and for promoting durable economic and political relations.

The primary factor in the dialectics of national and international is the nature of the new social formation, said A. Wirth. The socialist revolution and socialist building go on within a national framework but the historical process of establishing the new formation is international. The identity of the socio-economic system and its objective laws, on the one hand, and national disparities in building the new society, on the other, condition both the internal development of the socialist countries and the development of the entire socialist system.

Asked about the objective basis for the harmony of proletarian internationalism and the state interests of the socialist countries, the speaker said it stems from the objective identity of the national and international interests of each socialist country. If the national-state interests of the socialist countries are to be realized, they

must observe the principles of proletarian internationalism. By fulfilling our internationalist duty and by combining national with international tasks, we identify ourselves with other contingents of the international working class and contribute to the unity of the world revolutionary movement and the socialist system. This, in turn, helps to meet national-state interests.

However, the development of the socialist system is not free from intrinsic contradictions. They are non-antagonistic and are overcome due to the identity of the fundamental interests of all socialist countries by coordinating national and international tasks. This coordination is not achieved spontaneously. It involves meaningful organized activity in every particular country and on the scale of the socialist system, requiring knowledge of common tasks and of the dialectics of the national and international, coordination and organization of action by the socialist countries.

To harmonize national with international interests we must overcome the adverse heritage of the past. Past history has complicated relations between nations. The Hungarian nation, for example, was for a long time both oppressed and oppressor. The heritage of the past expresses itself in the unequal economic, social and cultural development of countries. The difficult problems that have piled up over the centuries must be solved in line with the Leninist nationalities policy.

The old society has also left nationalist prejudices in people's thinking and behavior. Though the foundations of socialism have been laid, survivals of the past continue to tell and petty bourgeois thinking still has some social basis. Nor do we mean only small proprietors and commodity producers. Even socialist classes are not immune to petty-bourgeois influence. The cooperative peasantry, made up mostly of one-time individual farmers, does not discard its earlier views overnight. The working class, which grew numerically during socialist industrialization, absorbed many one-time petty-bourgeois. This reinforcement was bound to bring in, if temporarily, certain elements of petty-bourgeois psychology. We must also remember the nature of petty-bourgeois thinking, which adjusts itself flexibly to changing conditions and penetrates the slightest breach in the new system, not excluding socialist international relations.

Now that the groundwork for socialism has been laid, Communists are faced with a twofold task. They must promote and improve new social relations and help to eliminate vestiges of old ones, on the one hand, and carry on socialist internationalist education and an energetic offensive against petty-bourgeois ideology, on the other. All this predetermines the necessity for joint effort by the socialist countries, for international coordination in the economic, political and ideological spheres.

Harmonizing the national with the international, said A. I. Sobolev, is a development trend of the socialist world system. This trend is realized by Communist parties in accordance with the objective laws of social development. In this connection, we must take ac-

count of the intricacy of social relations, the relative independence of their various aspects and the existence of contradictions in the socialist world system differing in origin, nature, role and effect.

To begin with, there are contradictions arising from the natural historical development of the system. Their rise and solution reflect the progressive and upward movement of the system. While these contradictions spring up objectively, they are not solved by events developing spontaneously but by the conscious activity of Communist parties and socialist countries. They do not contain sources of conflicts, which may be touched off by disregard and violation of the objective laws of development rather than by the contradictions themselves.

Secondly, there are contradictions stemming from infringements of the dialectics of the objective and subjective, disregard or underestimation of the objective character of economic laws and socio-political processes, exaggeration of the role of subjective factors, from mistakes or miscalculations of the leadership, its incompetence, the unsoundness of its political and economic concepts. These contradictions are not antagonistic either. Even though they may be grave and cause conflict situations, their timely study and elucidation on the basis of Marxism-Leninism opens the way for resolving them.

Thirdly, there may be contradictions born of deformations of the socialist system in this or that country under the pressure of internal and external forces alien to socialism, as a result of the leadership's departure from Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism. In extreme cases, these contradictions may become antagonistic. It must be said that socialism in itself never breeds antagonistic contradictions. What gives rise to antagonistic contradictions is deformations of socialism and departure from internationalist principles under the influence of revisionist and nationalist ideology and policy.

It follows that there may be diverse contradictions and that differentiated theoretical and political analysis is needed to overcome them.

Question: Does what you have said about the character of contradictions mean that a country's internal contradictions may be projected on to the world scene?

A. I. Sobolev: They may, particularly when socialism is deformed in that country.

In posing the problem of the national and international in the socialist world, we must proceed from the existence of nations and national states over a long period, *C. Vlad* and *N. Copoiu* noted in their paper. The socialist world system is composed of fourteen national or multinational states, which retain their distinctive characteristics.

Building socialism in a country is both a national and an international task. Concern for the progress and prosperity of one's country should not be mistaken for nationalism unless it takes place at the expense of other countries and is attended by denial

of the interests of others. In fact, this is the only way in which Communists can play their vanguard role and promote international relations based on mutual trust.

It is important, of course, that the socialist countries should cooperate in solving development problems of the new system. This is why Rumania is a member of the CMEA and the Warsaw Treaty Organization. However, cooperation should proceed from the sovereign and specific development of each country and from recognition of its inviolable right to decide its own affairs. We need consultations between socialist countries, and exchanges of views and experiences, but these activities cannot substitute for national leadership.

Proletarian internationalism should not be posed against national independence and sovereignty, equality, mutual benefit and mutual assistance, non-interference in internal affairs. It should not be seen as the main socialist principle, the only one that matters, while others are regarded as secondary, subordinate, generally democratic.

Experience has shown the vast importance of respecting and upholding the independence, equality and sovereignty of parties and socialist countries in terms of asserting internationalism in their mutual relations and from the standpoint of their joint struggle for the common goals of the working class. Consistent respect for independence and national sovereignty, properly combined with internationalism, is decisive to restoring the cohesion of the Communist movement and to achieving closer unity in the socialist world system. It is in line with these principles that the RCP develops its relations with the Communist and Workers' parties of all socialist countries.

As regards economic relations between socialist countries, they may in some cases consist in disinterested support of one country by another – witness the aid which Vietnam gets from all socialist countries despite their differences. But ordinary economic relations between countries, including socialist countries, should be governed by the principles of mutual interest and mutual benefit.

The fact that every Communist party is responsible to its own people and the international working class should not make its independence less important. Only when it is entirely free to independently perform the role of vanguard of its people can a party fully assume responsibility for the destiny of socialism in its country. The contribution of a Communist Party to the victory of the common cause is closely connected with its ability to be a genuinely national force, and the party can be such a real force if it is linked by a thousand threads with the people from which it has sprung. The more effectively a Communist party fulfills its obligations towards the working class and the people of whom it is a part, the more the masses trust its policy and the more loyal they are to socialism.

The diversity of conditions in which the Communist parties have to operate may give rise to differing views on this or that pheno-

menon. The circumstance that these differences cause tension is due mainly to subjective factors, to failure to appreciate the diversity of conditions of development and respect the standards of relations between parties and socialist countries.

Attempts to attach various labels have a negative effect. The history of the Communist movement has recorded cases in which grave charges were raised against certain Communist parties, including parties of socialist countries, charges which afterwards proved groundless. We know of the adverse effect of this practice and these methods on the working-class movement and the socialist cause. Having drawn conclusions from the experience of the past, when the RCP took part in such campaigns, our Party is resolved not to repeat past mistakes nor to engage under any circumstances in accusing or condemning other Communist and Workers' parties. Accusations, labels and insults, no matter from what quarter, can only aggravate tensions and differences. We are firmly convinced that the only way to normalize relations between Communist and Workers' parties is comradely discussion and the examination of existing differences from Marxist-Leninist positions.

Question: Does proletarian internationalism make for closer bonds between a party and the masses? Are those bonds likely to be loosened if the national is exaggerated to the detriment of the international?

C. Vlad: Failure to respect and follow internationalist principles and national interests may result in a loosening of the link between party and people.

Question: Is there a real threat to sovereignty within the socialist world system?

C. Vlad: There is no such threat, of course, but this is not to say that we should not in the course of discussion refer to the sovereign right of each party or country to decide on its own affairs.

Question: What is the connection between the political power of the working class and the sovereignty of a socialist state?

C. Vlad: For a socialist state, sovereignty means sovereignty of the working class, of the people who have won the battle against the bourgeoisie. It implies the right of the working class to manage the country's affairs.

W. Omar, representative of the Jordanian Communist Party on the journal, objected to the thesis that different positions on pressing international problems can be attributed to the differing conditions in which the Communist parties work. We constantly feel and highly appreciate the Communist movement's solidarity with the Arab anti-imperialist struggle and the tremendous assistance of the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union. In particular, we highly appreciate the internationalist position of the Communist Party of Israel which has resolutely condemned the aggression against the Arab countries. We Jordanian Communists are fighting in conditions different from those of the Israeli Communists, but we have no differences with the CP of Israel on this issue.

S. Mitra, member of the Editorial Board and representative of

the CP of India on the journal, remarked that there was hardly justification for the belief that differences in the international Communist movement are due to the differing conditions in which the parties operate. Surely, this cannot explain why the Chinese Party's attitude towards the liberation struggle in Bangladesh differed from that of most parties. The important thing is a common approach of all Communist parties and socialist countries to the problems of the anti-imperialist struggle.

Philip Bart, CP USA representative on the journal, emphasized that differences between the socialist countries hamper coordinated assistance to the Vietnamese people in the fight against American aggression. Here we have a glaring demonstration of the need to overcome differences and achieve close international cooperation in the battle against imperialism.

Remarking that the proposition formulated in Comrade Vlad's and Copoiu's report that the building of socialism is a national task and an internationalist duty is fully justified, *A. I. Sobolev* said that its theoretical elaboration left one with the impression that the internationalist task is but an extension of the national one. The report does not show how socialist construction in one country is tied in with the objectively unfolding process of economic internationalization. Yet we know that strengthening the material basis of developed socialism requires a high level of productivity, surpassing capitalism in the effectiveness of production and combining the achievements of the technological revolution with the advantages of socialism. This can be accomplished only by joint effort, relying on international factors.

A. Dansoko, representative of the Senegal African Independence Party on the journal, said rejection of principled criticism of erroneous views does damage to the international Communist movement. The Chinese leaders' opposition to peaceful coexistence, publicized over many years, is, in effect, of a pseudo-revolutionary, isolationist character. Their concepts of the 'world city' and 'world village' ignore the class principle. There is also the Albanian leaders' contention that socialist integration is of an imperialist character. Past mistakes should not be the pretext for rejecting internationalist positions or for interpreting internationalism as polycentristic or relativist.

L. Nagy, representative of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and member of the journal's Editorial Board: We are not discussing the origins of differences in the international Communist movement. However, since the question has been raised, I would like to make this point. The differences are not confined to theoretical issues; the CPC leadership unleashed a political campaign against the CPSU and other fraternal parties and organized armed provocations on the Soviet frontier. We should not, therefore, abstain from criticizing a divisive policy detrimental to world socialism.

Ts. Namsarai, Cand. Phil., representative of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party on the journal, reminded the conference of Lenin's emphasis on educating the working people in a spirit

of proletarian internationalism, friendship and trust between nations. This has lost none of its validity. On the contrary, it is an essential condition for the growth of world socialism. Seen in that light, the argument that though no socialist country threatens the sovereignty of another, the accent should be on their independence in relations with each other, sounds rather strange. It only helps the enemy spread all manner of distortions about socialist relations.

Nor is there any justification for rejecting principled criticism of erroneous and frankly nationalist positions which one or another Party took at a certain time. As Communists, we fight for proletarian internationalism, for our ideological purity. We know the damage done to socialist construction in China by the Mao group's anti-Leninist policy and of the danger it holds out for world socialism. We should criticize and expose the chauvinist ideology of Maoism.

The socialist countries and peoples share a common aim, a single Marxist-Leninist ideology and common interests in the fight against imperialism. And it is on that basis that the new, socialist type of relations is formed and developed on the principles of complete equality, respect for sovereignty, close cooperation and mutual assistance. Deep-going social and economic transformations have eliminated the objective causes of conflicts and have created realistic conditions and material prerequisites for strengthening socialist unity and cohesion. And socialism's continued advance will enhance the social homogeneity of society, with resultant closer harmony of the nations.

Coordination and closer cooperation follow from the very nature of the socialist system and the objective development trends of the socialist world economy. This makes it possible to overcome the difficulties in building the new society. The contention that contradictions between socialist countries might lead to antagonisms has to be cleared up. For if a country allows such contradictions to degenerate into antagonism, then we have to ascertain whether or not that country can be considered socialist.

The problem of the dialectics of the national and international has many facets, G. Tsonkov said, pointing to the need for an integral approach to dovetailing national and international interests. Political relations and ideological practice are just as much objective realities as economic relations. Some countries are prepared to promote economic ties with the socialist community and, to one or another degree, cooperate with CMEA. But they evince no desire for ideological cooperation in the belief that they are exempt from their internationalist duty.

Cooperation implies assistance, which must be, firstly, disinterested and, secondly, mutual, and the latter has to be especially stressed. But mutual assistance cannot be reduced to economics – political assistance and ideological support play a big role. For the battle against anti-communism's chief tactic, anti-Sovietism, requires mutual ideological support of the socialist countries.

At times we come across unsocialist views, a sort of 'dependent'

psychology. Some are inclined to reason thus: the Soviet Union is a big, powerful country and it has to help us. We, on the other hand, are small countries and cannot give the USSR any essential assistance. That formula is erroneous from beginning to end. It is a reflection of national egoism, of a bourgeois conception of relations between socialist states.

And combating such views we must always underline the mutuality principle, and the part it plays in fashioning the new, communist morality in the socialist community. Hitherto this was regarded as a purely internal matter, though it has very important international implications. For the development of economic and political relations within the socialist world system is paralleled by development of the moral principles on which these relations rest, and in this respect mutuality is a fundamental principle.

The blending of national and international interests is another characteristic of fraternal mutual assistance. This does not detract from the determinative role of international interests. More, recognition of their role helps correctly to define the scale of assistance at each development stage.

B. Mahlow stressed that national and international responsibilities of Communist and Workers' parties were inseparable. Marxist-Leninists reject national narrow-mindedness and the negation or underestimation of national interests, or the tendency towards hegemonism. Accordingly, the SUPG regards the national and international factors in a socialist country's policy in their dialectical unity.

Practice has shown that cooperation enables fraternal parties to draw on each other's rich experience in jointly solving the fundamental problems in building socialism and communism, attaining common goals and devising rational forms of socialist relations.

A correct combination of the national and international presupposes account of the common regularities of the socialist system as they apply to each country and to the community as a whole. A country's readiness to apply another's positive experience and assume international obligations is a measure of its acceptance of these common regularities. This finds expression in participation in joint measures to strengthen the socialist community.

Another condition for correctly combining the national and international is constant attention to the confrontation of the two systems and the common interests of world socialism. The latter make themselves more tangibly felt with each progressive stage of the socialist community's development. This objective tendency makes it possible, in the words of Lenin, in tackling a 'single international task . . . to seek out, investigate, predict and grasp that which is nationally specific' (Vol. 31, p. 92) and accordingly define each country's contribution to strengthening world socialism.

The main contradiction of our age objectively requires progressively closer coordination of foreign policy, including the security and defense of the Warsaw Treaty nations. Coordinated action in pursuance of our countries' allied obligations has yielded consider-

able success and has been decisive in changing the situation in Europe. It has demonstrated the mobilizing power socialist foreign policy has for the anti-imperialist struggle, its impact on the world revolutionary process, and has helped strengthen the GDR's international position.

No socialist country can successfully build the new society in isolation, by relying on its own forces. For instance, realization of the Comprehensive Program of socialist economic integration, which will strengthen our countries economically, presupposes operation of socialism's economic laws on an international scale. But integration significantly raises each country's responsibility for building up the community's economic potential. What we have is a process which, as Marx stressed, requires 'harmonious national and international coordination of social forms of production.'

There is cogent proof that the political success of every Communist party depends not only on its close contact with the working people but, to a decisive degree, also on its links with the socialist family of nations. And this underscores the importance and value of internationalist education.

One of the major advantages of world socialism is its rich fund of collective experience of socialist construction, above all the vast experience of the Soviet Union, the pioneer of mankind's social progress. Every fraternal party can study and utilize this multiform experience. To disregard it in formulating policy is to deprive ourselves of an inexhaustible source of knowledge beneficial to the progress of our own countries. Nor does utilizing the experience of fraternal countries restrict independence. Each Party adopts its own political decisions and contributes to the success of our common endeavor. And the strengthening of each Party assures the movement full independence from bourgeois and nationalist ideas.

Hence the constantly increasing importance of collectively generalizing national experience to draw up common views and assessments on major issues of the international class struggle and on social development under socialism. Equality of the parties presupposes mutual exchange of opinions and disinterested mutual enrichment of their experience.

Question: How do you visualize the internationalization of social experience, considering all the national specificities?

B. Mahlow: The idea is to internationalize experience on the basis of common development regularities. For instance, in defining the development stages of the new system in the GDR, we take into account the experience of the USSR and other socialist countries. And detailed study has helped us overcome erroneous views. We now have a fairly effective mechanism for generalizing the experience of fraternal parties. It includes international Communist Party conferences, bilateral and multilateral meetings, participation in Party congresses, international theoretical conferences and collective research projects.

Mongolo-Soviet relations, relations between a big and a small country, S. Purev said, are a distinctive manifestation of how na-

tional and international interests can be harmonized. V. I. Lenin pointed out that proletarian internationalism requires, first, acceptance of genuine equality of nations and, second, direct aid to revolutionary movements of oppressed nations (see *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 148).

The Soviet Union's Leninist internationalist policy fully coincided with the vital interests of the Mongolian people, and their people's democratic state opted for close alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union. Its assistance helped our effective transition from feudalism to socialism.

Fraternal cooperation and ideological unity between our Party and the CPSU has been a decisive factor in successfully applying the principles of socialist internationalism in relations between our two countries and in correctly combining in them national and international interests. The CPSU's ideological and political support and its rich revolutionary experience have always been, as they are today, a model for the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party in steering a consistently internationalist course.

Our Party's uncompromising struggle against petty-bourgeois nationalism and opportunism assured a correct approach to blending our people's national and international interests. Our Party has been irreconcilable in combating a one-sided conception of national independence, sovereignty and equality, and underestimation of Soviet assistance in building the new life—those characteristic features of petty-bourgeois nationalism and Right opportunism.

In our all-round contacts with the socialist countries, based on common aims and interests, we rely on fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union. We take full account of the specifics of socialist construction following from our country's history. First, we effectively use the advantages inherent in the socialist world system and all our own potentialities to attain a relatively high growth rate. Second, we are mindful of the disproportion in natural and labor resources. This necessitates joining with other countries in exploiting our natural riches for the benefit of our people and the socialist system as a whole. Third, such cooperation meets the requirements not only of Mongolia, but of other socialist countries, too, and makes for rational forms of contact and mutual assistance.

Mongolia's example shows how a small and once backward country can, by choosing socialism and maintaining friendly relations and close cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries, make impressive progress in all areas in a historically short span.

The Communist parties harmonize national and international interests mainly through cooperation in the political, economic and cultural fields. In line with our internationalist duty, we are promoting such cooperation for fuller use of the objective advantages of the socialist system and the new opportunities for intensifying economic and political ties between its members.

The objective basis for cooperation of the socialist countries is being steadily strengthened, Professor S. Quielitzsch (Berlin) re-

marked. The sphere of their common interests is being considerably expanded and the tendency towards unity is making itself more tangibly felt as they launch on the building of a developed socialist society. There is therefore no justification for accentuating the diverse conditions and experience of socialist construction and leaving out of account the increasingly uniform nature of the process in various countries. The class struggle against imperialism and its anti-socialist policy calls for close interaction of the socialist lands. Their closer cooperation accords both with their national and international interests. This stands out with especial clarity in their relations with the USSR.

The revolutionary German workers' movement has from the very outset regarded the Soviet Union as a model of social progress. And for German Communists the attitude to it has always been the touchstone of genuine internationalism. The GDR's development as an organic part of the socialist community, and more especially our alliance with the USSR, is the fundamental condition for satisfying the vital interests of the working class and all citizens. For without close cooperation with the USSR and other fraternal countries, without our expanding coordinated effort in the economic, scientific and technological fields, the GDR cannot attain the impressive economic goal set by the Eighth Congress of our Socialist Unity Party. But in closer cooperation with the USSR we also see an important contribution to socialist economic integration and, consequently, the strengthening of world socialism.

The Warsaw Treaty defense alliance, and notably the might of the Soviet Army, is a reliable guarantee of the peace and security of all fraternal countries, including the GDR. A guarantee, also, of relatively favorable international conditions for building a developed socialist society. In fact, this has compelled influential elements in the FRG ruling class to reckon with the new alignment of forces.

Intensified foreign-policy coordination helps the socialist countries more effectively to work for peace and security in Europe and the world. GDR foreign policy coincides on all points with the Soviet Union's peace program. This has enabled us actively to share in resolving many major international problems. Our experience proves that the foreign-policy activity of small and medium countries is not determined by their special role, as is sometimes argued. The GDR has won stronger international positions as a component of the socialist community, which is exerting a decisive influence on world affairs. Close alliance with the USSR and other fraternal countries does not impede our foreign policy activity, nor does it hamper our freedom of action on the international scene. On the contrary, it gives our foreign policy a wider field of action in the battle for peace and security.

The GDR attaches much importance to cooperation with the USSR and other fraternal countries in the ideological and theoretical fields, on such matters as pooling experience in solving various problems of socialist construction and in promoting the

new type of international relations. There is ample proof, theoretical as well as practical, that constantly deepening cooperation and unity with the USSR, the main force of world socialism, is decisive in multiplying the strength of the socialist community and fully corresponds to national interests. Hence, all Communist parties are in duty bound to combat every manifestation of anti-Sovietism.

One of the most important, and doubtlessly the widest spheres requiring harmony of national and international interests is economic development and economic relations. It would be a delusion, to say the least, *M. Senin* remarked, to believe that the good and the bad in economic management in one or another country is purely an internal matter that does not concern other members of the socialist community. For in this age of expanding international division of labor, everything that takes place in the national economy is bound to react on the development of the socialist world economy. This should make it perfectly clear that there has to be mutual responsibility for economic upbuilding, and that applies to international economic cooperation as well.

If we are properly to solve the problem of socialist cooperation, we must take into account the interaction of economic laws, on the one hand, and of the more general social development laws—particularly the laws of the international class struggle—on the other. Over-emphasis of general laws leads to under-emphasis of economic laws, and vice versa. To obviate that we must check the results of general political research against those of economic research, and economic research by analysis of the wider, general processes.

Let me cite this example. The 23rd and 24th CPSU Congresses called for greater effectiveness of Soviet foreign trade. Research on the problem has shown that if we take as our criterion compensation of the necessary social-labor expenditure in its 'pure form,' so to say, we get one set of results. But if we introduce a corrective factor—the world alignment of class forces, the two-system competition, the fight against colonialism and imperialism—we get entirely different results. That is not subjectivism; it is merely recognition of the fact that in international economic relations we have to reckon with the operation of objective laws, both economic and extra-economic, of social development.

Let us take the international socialist division of labor. It cannot be regarded solely from the standpoint of its economic effect. It must be regarded also from the standpoint of the objective requirements of consolidating and integrating our countries and strengthening socialism's world position. That is the key to a scientific understanding of the correlation between national and international interests in shaping the socialist economy.

There are contradictions between these interests, but they are temporary and solvable. For instance, they can arise from the operation of the law of economic levelling, which is closely related to the problem of aid by one country to another. Of course, this

is a complex contradiction, for there is no direct ratio between the economic potential of aid-giving and recipient countries. Besides, aid should not encourage dependent tendencies, but rather stimulate productive initiative.

Serious contradictions have to be resolved also in designing optimal national economic structures. The problem arises specially in developing international arrangements that affect economic structures. This applies to such problems as specialization and cooperation, jointly run enterprises, joint investments, value criteria to secure equal exchange and stimulate optimal production, etc. A sensitive area here are investments that do not promise immediate returns. Contradictions arise also due to the operation of the law of value as it affects countries with differing economic levels, inasmuch as unequal expenditures of labor are materialized in the commodities they exchange. These could be solved by coordinating price-formation policy and developing diverse forms of cooperation in credit and finance.

Resolving contradictions does not always lead to immediate satisfaction of national interests. It is done by solving some problem common to a number of countries; in other words, by satisfying an international interest, and this takes some time. We can, for instance, visualize a case of a highly industrialized country participating in a common investment fund, though it knows that it stands no chance of drawing on the fund. Its participation, in fact, leads to temporary loss of national assets, but in the long run it will only gain, inasmuch as the economic strengthening of other participating countries will improve its own trading conditions. And so, we have this pattern of resolving the contradiction: temporary losses for one country, economic gain for another, ideological and political gain for all fraternal countries and, in the final analysis, compensation of economic losses.

Harmonizing the national and international in the socialist world economy was discussed by Prof. N. Popov, Dr. Econ., (Bulgaria). In fashioning its economic structure, a socialist country strives for optimal employment of national and international resources without, of course, renouncing its economic independence. It has to be said that we have still to avail ourselves of the objective potentialities of the international socialist division of labor. This is due partly to the influence of differing economic levels inherited from capitalism and also to the as yet imperfect cooperation mechanism. Inadequate use is made of such factors as material incentives and of economic sanctions for non-fulfilment of assumed obligations.

Naturally, each country independently decides on the structure of its national economy. But since there is a socialist world system and, more particularly, the CMEA community, international interests must be taken into account in national economics. Without that the socialist world system cannot bring all its advantages to bear, for reflected in our international interests is the objective identity of our fundamental class aims. And that is where common

ground is found for harmonizing economic levels. The less difference in such levels, the less ground will there be for national interest differences.

Bulgaria's experience shows how beneficial such a policy can be. In restructuring our economy we could rely on the material and technical basis of the USSR and some other fraternal countries. Socialist international division of labor enabled us to build up a heavy industry in a remarkably short time, with priority development of branches best suited to our conditions.

Far from precluding, this presupposes closer relations between socialist states (especially now that they have achieved a fairly high level of industrial maturity) founded on mutual benefit and the operation of the law of value. And that law operates to greater effect the more our economies are integrated. One of the central problems is financial relations, and from partial, unilateral regulation we are passing to more comprehensive, organized and planned arrangements, in which the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance plays a special part.

The fact that there are differing interests indicates that they cannot fully coincide. The development of each national economy is primarily determined by the internal potential and this could lead to objective contradictions with the interests of the socialist world economy. Boosting national interests, in foreign trade, for instance, is, in effect, a manifestation of non-antagonistic contradictions between the countries concerned. And they can be fully eliminated only in the future world communist society, when national economic exclusiveness will have been abolished.

Let us examine some non-antagonistic contradictions. In 1964-68 Bulgarian and Hungarian fresh-vegetable exports to CMEA countries declined, whereas Rumanian exports increased. Bulgarian and Rumanian fruit exports declined somewhat, while Hungary's increased considerably, especially apple exports to the USSR. Hungary and Rumania won some of Bulgaria's positions on the world socialist market. There is nothing bad about that kind of competition. It only underscores the need for Bulgaria to improve production of fresh fruit and vegetables if it wants to be a worthy partner of Hungary and Rumania. Bulgaria and the socialist community as a whole would benefit.

Ignoring such non-antagonistic contradictions will not banish them. On the contrary, they might induce countries dissatisfied with trading conditions on the socialist market to seek larger sales on the capitalist market. The need, therefore, is to improve CMEA cooperation, and make the international socialist division of labor more effective.

Aligning national and international interests is no simple problem, *J. Szabo* said. Even within a single country national interests clash with those of individual economic branches, production units and foreign-trade agencies. But, then, every country has its own machinery for harmonizing these interests, with priority always given to the interests of the economy as a whole. There is no such ar-

rangement internationally. The socialist community is made up of sovereign states and has no supranational organs to issue directives on, say, economic matters. Overall economic policy and economic contacts with capitalist countries can be worked out only collectively, with the participation of all the countries concerned.

However, general principles will not suffice. They cover a long period, but each such period consists of several stages requiring different forms of cooperation. We should therefore collectively devise cooperation forms for these diverse stages. For instance, it is very important to coordinate policy towards the Common Market countries. Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania have a vital interest in selling their farm produce to these countries, and a coordinated policy would strengthen our position. Similarly, CMEA members should have a coordinated policy on technological cooperation with developed capitalist countries. We are being economically discriminated against by the Common Market and we can change that only by concerted effort.

The socialist world system, which entered a new stage in the late 60s and early 70s, is exploring more effective forms of cooperation. A new level has been reached in cooperation in the foreign-policy, defense and economic fields. The Comprehensive Program envisages effective multilateral and bilateral coordination of economic policy and plans, joint planning, closer ties in production, science and technology, etc. At its 23rd session, CMEA reformulated its participation guidelines to permit joint projects by some, and not necessarily all, members of the community.

The dominant trend is toward closer friendship and unity. But there has also been differentiation, a fact we cannot afford to disregard. The Soviet Union and most other socialist countries have jointly elaborated a general line for closer cooperation, but it is being operated mainly by CMEA members. Some countries prefer bilateral ties. China and Albania have taken a special position.

It would be advisable for CMEA members to work out a differentiated policy to reduce the divergence margin. The outlines of such a policy were drawn up by the 24th CPSU Congress and are duly taken into account by fraternal parties.

Maximum mobilization and effective use of national resources and efforts, J. Nikl, Dr. Econ., (Prague) said, is the key factor in evening out or equalizing the economic levels of socialist countries. This, however, should not be construed to mean 'reliance on one's own forces.' Full utilization of national resources should go hand in hand with the international division of labor. That is the second decisive factor in equalizing economic levels; the third factor is mutual assistance.

Equalization of levels is an objective necessity stemming from the new type of economic relations. And the cardinal element in the equalization process is joint effort to meet the interests of each country and of the community as a whole.

Evening our economic levels presupposes absolute economic

growth in all countries. That can be achieved only through methodical improvement of production structures by applying the achievements of the technological revolution and in this way gradually evolving an inter-acting CMEA economy.

Discussion speakers emphasized that correctly harmonizing national and international interests, perfecting and deepening economic, political and ideological cooperation, are indispensable requisites for the further development of world socialism and paramount factors in cementing the unity of the socialist community.

IV. CRITIQUE OF BOURGEOIS AND OPPORTUNIST CONCEPTIONS

fallacy of the 'polycentristic' interpretation of internationalism • opportunist 'models' of socialism in the service of counter-revolution • nationalism – the chief danger • importance of internationalist education

Criticism of bourgeois and opportunist conceptions, which contrast national to international interests, is an indispensable condition for perfecting and further developing relations between socialist states. This was discussed by many speakers.

J. Pawlowicz, Dr. His. (Warsaw), emphasized that imperialism's global anti-Communist strategy includes varied tactical methods and means of dividing and weakening the revolutionary forces. Their strategy is based on stimulating 'polycentrism,' i.e., encouraging existing and inciting fresh differences. In fact, this has become official doctrine in the United States and other imperialist countries.

This anti-Communist strategy relies heavily, indeed mainly, on the divisive policy of the Chinese leadership and on revisionist and nationalist tendencies in some other countries. Consequently, success in the struggle against anti-communism is directly dependent on consistent struggle against splitting tendencies, and on re-establishing and consolidating unity of the socialist countries and of the Communist movement.

The unity platform set out in the documents of international conferences, accepted by nearly all Communist and Workers' parties, is scientifically grounded and fully realizable. The Conference documents take full account of the different conditions of the workers' movement, postulate the thesis of different forms of transition to socialism, point to the danger of disregarding or disparaging national specifics and warn against mechanical copying of the experience of other countries. Taking as a starting point the international character of the new system and the experience of its establishment in various countries, they formulated the common regularities of socialist construction, warning at the same time, that departure from them, ostensibly to comply with artificially exaggerated national specificities, can only harm socialism.

Present-day Right and 'Left' opportunists have sought to give these documents their own interpretation, which runs counter to the main conclusions drawn by the International Conferences. The usual method is to interpret proletarian internationalism as 'polycentric.' The documents explain the relation between unity and differentiation in the worker's movement. The opportunist interpretation of this accentuates differentiation, while proletarian internationalism is conceived as a 'centrifugal' force.

That interpretation justifies existing differences between socialist countries and suggests that, as a matter of principle, such differences will grow, not diminish, because of the general trend towards more differentiation of the world revolutionary process. That line of reasoning is used, for example, by the Maoist ideologists to justify the emergence of 'national' varieties of Marxism, 'national' theories of building socialism, refusal to cooperate with other socialist countries, and political self-isolation.

This 'polycentristic' interpretation finds expression in the peculiar 'neutral' attitude to the divisive activities of the CPC leadership, in unfavorable, even negative reaction to every step towards closer community unity, on the plea that this restricts the sovereignty of the parties. The 'polycentristic' theory finds expression also in 'unaligned' attitudes. In practice this is tantamount to renouncing the class differences between capitalism and socialism, taking an identical attitude towards imperialist aggressive pacts and the defensive Warsaw Treaty, underestimating the role of the socialist world system, etc.

The "polycentristic" interpretation opposes national to international interests and militates against international revolutionary solidarity. There is no denying that new tasks and new forms of dovetailing national and international interests have come to the fore and have enriched proletarian internationalism. But does this imply that there is no longer any need to regard national interests and policies from the standpoint of international revolutionary solidarity, united action of all the socialist countries and a fraternal attitude towards the Soviet Union? This is not merely an academic question. Every nationalistic or revisionist negation of the principles of internationalism is camouflaged by appeals to combat obsolete traditional concepts. Every supposedly new idea is camouflaged by references to new national conditions and tasks. Yet the fact remains that the achievements and prospects of the revolutionary, liberation movement are insolubly linked with the international solidarity of all its contingents, with the achievements of existing socialism, and with the economic, political and defense capacity of the socialist system.

Now as in the past, proletarian internationalism implies coordinated anti-imperialist action, fraternal mutual assistance and support, unremitting effort to unite the socialist states and the entire Communist movement. Recognizing the determinative role of the socialist world system in the revolutionary movement is not a matter of one's good or bad intentions, but of one's attitude to

reality. And from this follows the intimate connection between the fight for communist unity and international solidarity with the Soviet Union, the material and spiritual center of the socialist community.

Developments since the 1969 Meeting indicate that understanding of this profound inner link between national independence and international responsibility is now deeply rooted in the Communist movement. Imperialist hopes of dividing the socialist states with the help of the Chinese leadership, have collapsed. Nonetheless, consistent struggle against revisionist and nationalist distortions of the Marxist-Leninist principles of aligning the national and international and perfection of the mechanism of fraternal cooperation are just as pressing as ever, for many questions have still to be solved.

Question: Are the differences in the international workers' movement over principles of an objective or subjective character?

J. Pawlowicz: We should distinguish between differing viewpoints and differences that lead to a split. Individual parties and social forces can differ in their political positions and practical activity – this follows objectively from the vast variety of conditions. It would be absurd to contest that. But the chief cause of differences that degenerate into open ideological and political struggle should be sought in the subjective sphere. For objective conditions in the socialist countries and Communist parties contain nothing likely to produce antagonistic contradictions or irresolvable ideological and political discord. In this sense subjectivist distortion of internationalism, retreat from its Marxist-Leninist principles, is the root cause of differences.

To take one example. There are numerous national specifics in China's history and they greatly complicate the work of socialist reconstruction. Mention might be made of the small proportion of industrial workers, the vast predominance of the peasantry and other petty-bourgeois strata, the strong influence of nationalist sentiments and tendencies deeply rooted in the past, etc. In these objective conditions we have the seeds of possible socialist deformations. But were they inevitable? No. They surfaced because the CPC leadership followed a nationalist policy and engaged in an unscrupulous struggle for power within the country and hegemony in the Communist movement. In short, the subjective factor, i.e., retreat from Marxism-Leninism, determines the CPC leadership's policy, for there is nothing in objective conditions to justify its struggle against fraternal parties.

Latent nationalist deformations, I think, existed in many countries but were neutralized by the Marxist-Leninist parties' internationalist policy. Unfortunately, this has not been the case in China.

J. Obzina, Cand. Phil., (Prague), criticized the Right opportunist concepts of a 'national model of socialism' which in Czechoslovakia was the ideological basis of the 'quiet counter-revolution.'

Disregard of the common regularities of socialist construction,

their replacement by the so-called regularities of the 'modern industrial society' borrowed from bourgeois ideologists – such was the substance of these concepts. Their political purpose was to substantiate the 'superfluousness' of class struggle and the proletarian dictatorship, to proclaim the specific problem of one country a 'model of socialism.'

The Czechoslovak events of 1968-1969 showed that advocates of the revisionist concepts of 'socialism with a human face,' who speculated on mistakes in socialist construction and vilified international revolutionary experience, helped to ideologically disorient sizeable segments of the population, notably the youth, and build up a political army of counter-revolution.

Seen in this light, it would be wrong to consider these concepts simply the product of a few 'theoretical minds.' And it would likewise be wrong to belittle their provocative role in the country's political crisis. For counter-revolution, in any country, even if abortive, is part and parcel of the battle between capitalism and socialism and deliberate attempt by definite strata and groups to bring back the old bourgeois order.

Counter-revolution, in whatever form, is powered by internal and external factors. Exploitation of objective difficulties and subjective mistakes in socialist revolution and socialist construction are a component part of counter-revolutionary strategy. The chief, determinative factor, is the striving of anti-socialist forces to liquidate, by every available means, the new system and re-establish the bourgeois order. Can we say that the imperialist intervention against Soviet Russia and the four-year civil war were due to the mistakes of Lenin and the Russian Communist Party? Or that the Allied Powers' ultimatum to the Hungarian Soviet Republic was the result of mistakes by the Communist Party and Bela Kun? Or that the economic blockade of Czechoslovakia and the post-February 1948 imperialist political pressure were due to the mistakes of Klement Gottwald and the Communist Party? No, if we want to understand the cause of crisis situations and the activation of anti-socialist forces, we have to study not only the history of revolution, but also the history of counter-revolution, which begins with propaganda of counter-revolutionary ideas. It is from this standpoint that we should approach the Czechoslovak events of 1968 and assess the social function of opportunist concepts.

In countries of working-class power counter-revolution can hope for success only if it can oppose to the real socialism some bogus variety, and that is usually provided by the opportunist forces within the Party. That is exactly what happened in Czechoslovakia in 1968-1969, when the Right wing in the Party Central Committee led by Dubcek, Smrkovsky, Kriegel, Cisar and others, in effect dismantled Party supervision of the mass media, which proceeded to discredit the new system and disseminate sundry revisionist models of 'democratic socialism,' 'socialism with a human face,' and so on.

All these 'models' centered on negation of the leading role of the

working class and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard in the building of socialism. Thus, one of the 'model' theorists, I. Lederer, argued in his article 'Opposition – Illusion and Reality,' that a 'spiritual elite' was taking over the leading role of the working class, and the Communist Party's directing role was, in effect, being eliminated by the emergence of progressive and conservative factions within the Party. The former, Lederer affirmed, would evolve into a party of democratic socialism and the latter into a Bolshevik-type party.*

That is no longer revisionism, but liquidationism! In the light of these facts, the Rightists' contention that, since in 1968-1969 no one demanded giving the factories back to the capitalists, there were no anti-socialist or counter-revolutionary forces, is sheer demagoguery. Why? For the simple reason that the socialist revolution began not with expropriation of the bourgeoisie, but with the proletariat's capture of political power, which enabled it subsequently to expropriate the capitalists. The reverse process, liquidation of socialism and restoration of capitalism, was to have begun with undermining the Party's leading role ideologically and organizationally, weakening the socialist state and disrupting its functions, strengthening the influence of anti-socialist forces on the country's policy with the help of the opportunists in the Party leadership; then power would gradually pass to these forces, operating under demagogic slogans of political 'pluralism,' 'pure democracy,' 'return to national forms of socialism.' Attempts to implant the so-called 'new model of Czechoslovak national socialism' were tantamount to undermining the party's leading role and hurling the country back to the political situation prior to 1948. The end result was rabid anti-Sovietism and nationalism which led these 'socialism-with-a-human-face' theorists to ideological kinship with Maoism, to the 'barracks communism' they had so clamorously denounced.

We often witness flare-ups of nationalism in different parts of the world, A. Wirth said. Nationalist phenomena do not vanish automatically with the victory of the socialist revolution. At times they even become more pronounced. Other speakers have dealt with the blatant nationalist policy of the Chinese People's Republic and the eruption of nationalism in Czechoslovakia in 1968. We, too, had some bitter experience in 1956, when Hungarian and international counter-revolution exploited nationalism for anti-socialist purposes. And today, too, nationalism plays no mean part in the strategy of world reaction.

The problem, therefore, is seriously to analyze, from Marxist positions, why nationalism has proved so tenacious. That means examining the nature of nationalist sentiments in their various manifestations so as fully to overcome their harmful influence. Nationalism's tenacity in a socialist society is often attributed to purely psychological factors – irrational instincts and nationalist sentiments that do not lend themselves to social control. The whole

*See *Literarni listy*, 1968, N 9.

thing is reduced to the built-in egoism of human nature which, allegedly, spreads from individuals to whole nations. According to this theory, nationalism will persist as long as there are national differences, regardless of the socio-economic system.

The reverse side of such psychological and non-historical arguments is national nihilism, a disparaging attitude towards national interests, traditions and customs, even (in extreme cases) complete negation of everything national. Indeed, if national sentiments are by their very nature irrational and cannot be socially controlled, the only solution is to suppress them. Or to put it this way: if, whatever the social milieu, these sentiments breed nationalism, then the latter can be overcome only by negating everything national.

National nihilism is just as one-sided and politically harmful as narrow-minded nationalism. And like it, it ignores concrete socio-historical conditions, the dialectics of the national and international in the development of the socialist world system, and can be employed for anti-socialist purposes.

Of course, the persistence of nationalism has its psychological roots too – instincts, sentiments, ingrained notions and prejudices. We have to establish the social conditions that give rise to them and under what social conditions they can be overcome. For there are definite social causes behind the psychological, and their roots should be sought in the influence of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas.

Nationalism intrudes into various areas. It represents a philosophy of its own, a system of social views. On all political and ideological problems, it obscures class positions, replaces the class approach by a narrow national one. And he who comes under its influence loses his class feeling, remains unarmed before the class enemy.

Nationalism presents a still greater danger when applied to international relations. In the present-day world, when the socialist world system faces complex tasks, when a new type of community of socialist nations is taking shape and growing stronger, when imperialism pins its hopes on a split among the socialist countries, a steadfast internationalist policy and active struggle against all forms of nationalism in inter-state relations are of the utmost importance.

Question: Bourgeois propaganda equates socialist patriotism with nationalism. More, patriotism is often used to incite nationalist passions. Could we not have a more detailed explanation of the differences between patriotism and nationalism in application to the socialist world system?

A. Wirth: Both in terms of theory and methodology and practical political activity, it is important to differentiate between the two. The nationalists deliberately confuse them and exploit national feeling, national pride, love of country to foment nationalist sentiments. That is exactly what happened in Hungary in 1956. The danger of this method is that it can temporarily mislead honest-

minded people who genuinely love their country but cannot find their bearings in complex political situations. Sooner or later most of them will realize that the counter-revolutionaries are exploiting their national sentiments. But even this brief confusion, in which nationalism is identified with national feeling, can do much political harm to socialism.

Hence, we must clearly and sharply distinguish between nationalism and socialist patriotism. What is the difference? Briefly, it can be defined as follows: by its very substance, nationalism is the opposite of the class principle; it absolutizes the national factor, puts it above the class factor and thus obscures the fundamental class aims. In contrast, socialist patriotism implies a class approach to and assessment of the national element, including national sentiments. Socialist patriotism is inseparable from the existence, defense and development of the new system, and since this is not a narrow national function, it organically includes also the principles of internationalism.

K. I. Zarodov: Comrade Wirth's answer is interesting and fundamentally correct. However I would like to supplement it somewhat.

All of us are justly proud of the socialist countries' economic achievements. But their economic levels differ and this could give rise to feelings of 'economic superiority' which are wholly alien to Marxism-Leninism and communist morality. Patriotic enthusiasm powered by socialist economic achievements could, in such cases, degenerate into nationalist disparagement of fraternal countries and peoples. Apparently, we have to instil in the public mind the rather simple truth that socialist development starts from different stages in different countries, and the problems and difficulties this engenders differ. We should also bear in mind that in addition to the socialist countries' national economies there is world socialism with, so to say, its revenue and expenditure. This makes it incumbent on us to take into account not only each country's economic achievements, but also its contribution to the common socialist treasure-store. Socialism evens out economic development levels. But until they are evened out, we cannot allow cooperation and mutual assistance of fraternal countries to be poisoned by outbursts of what one might call 'economic arrogance,' covered though it is by professions of socialist patriotism.

Or this example. In discussing the promotion of patriotic feelings, it is natural and logical to draw on the history of one's country, popularize the great events and great men of its past. And here we must be guided primarily by Lenin's presentation of the question: which historical legacy does the victorious proletariat accept, and which does it reject? This Leninist proposition calls for a clear-cut approach. In application to the problem under discussion, Marxist-Leninists should popularize material from history that helps promote socialist and not jingoistic patriotism. We have no right to extol historical personalities, no matter how famous in the past, if they remain symbols of anti-democratic tendencies. Similarly, we have no right to exaggerate the importance of facts

of history that keep alive the past glory of reactionary regimes. Patriotic propaganda must serve closer relations between socialist countries and peoples. Any disregard of these principles, whether in politics or in such areas as culture, art, sports, etc., is fraught with the danger that a correct desire to cultivate patriotism can end up in cultivating nationalistic tendencies.

J. Hrabina, Cand. Phil. (Bratislava), touched on some topical problems of internationalist education. The retreat from Leninism of many Czechoslovak theoreticians began even before 1968, he said. They maintained that 'the socialism built in the Soviet Union has only a common phraseology with Marxist socialism and certain common principles.'^{*} The view was also popularized that the full and free assertion of a nation is characteristic only of states adhering to a 'non-socialist ideological orientation.'^{**}

It will thus be seen that bourgeois and opportunist ideology were not being combated and Marxist-Leninist training of cadres was consigned to oblivion. The Right opportunists wanted to bypass an entire stage in the development of class relations. To believe them, Czechoslovakia was already a classless society.

The elimination of private property produced a new type of social structure corresponding to socialism as the lower phase of the communist formation. But this was not yet a classless society and, consequently, not one in which a class approach to social problems was no longer necessary. Socialization of the means of production does not obviate the task of ideologico-political education of the people in a spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, which is inconceivable without vigorous and persevering struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois views and habits. The intrinsic features of the working class have to be extended to all sections of society. That is being done in every socialist country, and it helps strengthen and deepen internationalist relations between them in every area of social life.

The socialist social structure is characterized by unity of the working class, the cooperative peasantry and intelligentsia, but this unity should not be understood as a lifeless metaphysical category. It has its origins, prerequisites, different development stages and levels. We should first of all understand the difference between the economic basis and its reflection in social consciousness and behavior. The second aspect of unity emerges gradually in political and ideological struggle to eliminate the complex of impediments to the development of the new society.

There is also this factor which did not receive adequate attention in the past: the relatively short period between the emergence of the socialist social structure and the demolition of the capitalist. The period since the revolution has been too short to change the outlook of whole generations. Czechoslovakia has a substantial stratum of people who grew up under capitalism and belonged to the exploiter class or to the petty bourgeoisie. Many, but not all, have

^{*}Kulturny Zivot, No. 28, 1968.

^{**}Ibid., No. 31, 1968.

been able to reorient ideologically in line with their new social and economic status. That this process of social and ideological reorientation was not completed is evident from much of what happened during the crisis developments. All elements of the capitalist class structure cannot be broken down by revolutionary methods. Some are carried over to the new structure and, given specific conditions (weakening of the Party's leading role, inadequate attention to ideological education, etc.), they can reactivate and have a disintegrating impact on socialist relations.

We should more deeply study the processes at work in the social structure. And we should not confine ourselves to singling out certain external features of classes and groups, but analyze these in terms of their past, present and future. That is the only key to a proper understanding of the dynamics of social change and the tasks it poses for society's revolutionary development; the only way, in fact, to chart its future. And there is the evidence of Czechoslovak experience to show that ideological education cannot be regarded to one, say economic, aspect. The important thing here is a comprehensive, systematic approach, one that will include educating the people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia now pays much attention to all these problems.

In his concluding remarks, *K. I. Zarodov*, the journal's Editor-in-Chief, noted that correct understanding and application of the principles of socialist internationalism are, in this age, the alpha and omega of the life and development of the socialist world system.

Only if we are guided by these principles can we further strengthen the socialist world system economically and improve the life of our peoples.

Only by strengthening the international unity and solidarity of the socialist states can we succeed in the confrontation with imperialism and uphold peace and security.

Only by expanding and deepening fraternal cooperation of the socialist countries can we win in the economic competition with capitalism.

Only if the socialist countries follow a coordinated international policy can they effectively assist the revolutionary forces of our time.

These conclusions follow from all our deliberations. Conference participants were unanimous in declaring that closer cooperation and fraternal mutual assistance of the socialist countries is the developmental axis of world socialism.

The discussion enabled us to compare viewpoints, exchange opinions, frankly debate issues and, also, single out the problems requiring further theoretical study and practical solution.

To enumerate but a few of these.

1) The problem of scientifically defining international and national interests. Many speakers rightly treated them as a dialectic-

tical unity of opposites in which 'the universal exists only in the individual and through the individual. Every individual is (in one way or another) a universal. Every universal is (a fragment, or an aspect, or the essence of) an individual' (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 38, p. 361). Conference participants stressed that this problem will retain its importance throughout the existence of the socialist world system as an international association of sovereign national states.

2) The substance of proletarian internationalism as a changing rather than static magnitude. In regulating relations between working-class parties and states, proletarian internationalism takes on different concrete forms at various development stages of the socialist world system, depending on conditions of time and place. But its foundation remains unchanged: interaction between national proletarian contingents to secure optimal development of the socialist world system and the international revolutionary process as a whole. In present-day conditions this can be accomplished only by promoting fraternal mutual assistance and solidarity in the common struggle against imperialism, and by readiness to fulfil our internationalist duty of defending the class interests of world socialism.

3) The genesis of the socialist system, its structure and essence. Speakers regarded this problem in the light of sober analysis of reality, dealing not only with the historical aspect, but seeking also to outline the perspective. Continued study will give us a deeper understanding of the basic regularities and intrinsic contradictions of world socialism, enabling us scientifically to prognosticate its development.

All these problems are central to the theory of the new type of international relations. Their elaboration is one of the cardinal tasks of scholars in the socialist countries.

The value of our conference should be seen also in the fact that, for the first time in the work of the journal, we have so sharply posed the question of internationalizing the experience of socialist construction. There has been a wider exchange of experience in recent years, but apparently it is still short of requirements. And not because we do not meet often enough, but mainly because the mechanism of exchanging experience has to be improved. The internationalization of experience of socialist construction has two major interconnected aspects. First, profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the operation of common regularities, careful study and theoretical generalization of new, valuable experience to single out common elements. This means proceeding from the national to the international. Second, 'transplanting' on national soil the universal and generally applicable elements of international practice. Here we proceed from the international to the national.

All speakers drew attention to the vast importance of Communist Party activity in correctly harmonizing the national and international interests of the socialist countries. This is indeed important, inasmuch as the parties' role in cooperation between our countries has not been adequately publicized.

We see constant contact and cooperation at the level of the Central committees of our parties, through the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and in the Warsaw Treaty organization. In the course of this cooperation they regularly and comprehensively examine the basic problems of socialist development, shape policy in various areas of cooperation, take into account each other's interests and resolve controversial problems. In short, the theoretical and practical activity of exchanging and summarizing national experience to bring out generally applicable forms, methods and means, and formulate decisions on cardinal questions of internal and foreign policy – all this devolves on our Marxist-Leninist parties.

Proceeding from decisions of Party congresses and from documents of International Conferences, particularly the 1969 Conference, speakers dealt with a wide range of problems. And although various opinions were expressed on a number of these, on the whole the conference was distinguished for its businesslike discussion. This was helped in no small measure by the theses compiled by the journal's commission on the problems of socialist construction and circulated before the conference. Our commissions will continue to follow this practice.

Speakers repeatedly emphasized the imperative of our time, namely, resolute uncompromising struggle against anti-communism, against all deviations from the Marxist-Leninist principle of scientifically combining, from class positions, national and international tasks. But they also emphasized the need for profound theoretical analysis of relations between socialist states to produce a true picture of the processes at work in the socialist world system, and enable us correctly to solve the problems involved in its further development. Such analysis will continue to be part of the journal's work.



The Party and the masses

Werner Lamberz

The revolutionary party's attitude to the working class and the working people generally is a central problem of our movement. Its Marxist-Leninist solution is necessary not only in the vicissitudes of the class struggle before the revolution and in the process of forming and marshalling the revolutionary forces to overthrow the exploiting system, but also – albeit on a different basis and on a different scale – after the capture of power, in the period of building the new society.

A year ago the Eighth SUPG Congress, in charting the Party's course, underscored the need to enhance the Party's leading role. 'The wider the scope of socialist construction,' the Central Committee report said, 'and the more complex the problems, the more important becomes the role and responsibility of the Party.' The Congress also stressed the growing role and responsibility of the working class, urging all party organizations and members to form closer ties with the masses, 'the true makers of history.'

Only bourgeois ideologists and their revisionist echoers can see some contradiction in this. They always apply the subtleties of formal logic: in reference to the historic mission of the working class and its Party they think up, and try to impose, new variants of shopworn arguments. For instance: with the working class in power there is no need for Party leadership, and if the Party does exercise leadership, what talk can there be of working-class power; if it is a party of the working class, why should it have to call for closer contacts with it; if it calls for such contacts, then it is not a party of the working class, and more in the same vein.

These sorry 'thinkers' do not realize that liberation of the working class is accomplished by the working class itself. For, in the words of Engels, 'the proletariat can act as a class only by constituting itself as a distinct political party opposed to all the old parties formed by the possessing classes.' Nor do they realize that in the new society this class is destined, by virtue of objective factors, to hold a leading position and operate as a class through its party. For it is precisely through the Party that it exercises power, directs society, brings together the various strata of the

people, takes account of their needs and interests. The relationship of proletarians and Communists formulated by Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto* and further developed by Lenin, the tested doctrine of the new-type party, the party as part of the class, as its leader, its conscious and organized vanguard that teaches the masses and learns from them – all these dialectical truths are beyond the ken of bourgeois ideologists. The same applies to the revisionists.

In our age of the socialism-imperialism confrontation, the ideological controversy over the place of the Marxist-Leninist party in the revolutionary process has become sharper than ever. It is the bounden duty of the Communist movement to secure a correct understanding and optimal application of the doctrine of the Party in concrete conditions – all the more so that it has become the target of enemy political and ideological attacks. The Central Committee report to the 24th CPSU Congress says that the question of the Communist Party's leading role has become 'a fundamental question of the revolutionary movement and of the building of the new society. It has today become the focal point in the struggle between Marxist-Leninists and representatives of diverse forms of revisionism.'

The intensive work of government Communist parties in building socialism and communism, their increasingly skilful direction of society, is the most effective refutation of the revisionist figment that Party leadership denies an outlet for people's creativity. The revisionists' 'solicitude' for the masses is sheer hypocrisy considering their preachment of replacing the Party by some 'elite' or 'spontaneous movement.' In directing the life of socialist society, the Communist parties are guided by the principles of Marxism which, in the words of Lenin, 'differs from all other socialist theories in the remarkable way it combines complete scientific sobriety in the analysis of the objective state of affairs and the objective course of evolution with the most emphatic recognition of the importance of the revolutionary energy, revolutionary creative genius, and revolutionary initiative of the masses – and also, of course, of individuals, groups, organizations, and parties' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 13, p. 36).

For the SUPG, as for other Marxist-Leninist parties, the concrete tasks in fulfilling its leading role and fostering correct relations with the masses follow from a scientific analysis of the present development stage of society, its class structure, the new relations formed in the process of socialist change, from the objective requirements and opportunities and the subjective conditions for continued social development.

Ever since socialist production relations triumphed in the GDR, the Eighth Congress pointed out, we have been working to build all the elements of a developed socialist society. Much has been accomplished, but much more will have to be done before the goal is reached. Developed socialist society cannot be proclaimed or decreed. It requires a higher level of productive forces, socialist

social relations and political understanding by the people. It is towards these goals that Congress oriented the Party and all GDR citizens. This uniformity of the aim set for all social forces is attainable only through steadily strengthening the working class' leading position.

'Proletarian dictatorship,' Comrade Erich Honecker told the Party Congress, 'is welcomed by our friends and hated by our enemies throughout the world. That is why we shall guard as the apple of our eye dictatorship of the working class and its leading role, to which we shall impart still greater importance in the further development of socialist society.'

Strengthening the leading role of the working class is, at the present stage, a qualitative rather than a quantitative task. For the working class makes up the largest population group – wage and salary earners accounted for more than 78 per cent of the gainfully employed in 1955 and for more than 84 per cent in 1970. Hence, the job now is to cultivate the socialist traits of the working class, encourage greater political activity and greater responsibility for directing all social processes.

The extent to which these traits predominate in the working class can be judged from the following data. Persons of working-class background make up 75 per cent of Party members and candidate members; more than 50 per cent of the People's Chamber, the country's supreme representative body; 60 per cent of local government bodies; 75 per cent of economic executives and more than 80 per cent of public prosecutors; nearly 75 per cent of judges, and 80 per cent of National Army officers. Industrial productivity rose 42 per cent between 1966 and 1970, in which year one worker in seven – and in 1971 one in six – participated in the innovation movement and made one or more rationalization proposals.

Today not only the front-rank workers, but the entire working class must be drawn into conscious participation in management and planning, and we should cultivate in the working class a feeling of responsibility and the necessary proficiency. This requires a higher standard of Party mass work for, naturally, the main role will be played by long-established and widely-employed methods and forms of worker participation. In this context, we have to raise the activity of the trade unions in organizing the socialist emulation movement, provide more scope for such democratic institutions as the permanent production conferences at enterprise and shop level, comradely courts, women's committees, etc., up even to patronage by factory work teams of school classes as an important form of working-class influence on the young generation.

Sociological studies show that most production workers are prepared to undertake management responsibilities over and above their regular jobs. To make this a mass movement, we must raise to a higher qualitative level the Party's contacts with the working class. All workers must be given Marxist-Leninist training, adequate knowledge of economics, concrete information of the position and problems of their factory and area in order to discharge the social

responsibilities objectively devolving on them. This should be attended by careful study of concrete experience, of workers' suggestions and advice, so that the Party and its leadership can draw the necessary policy conclusions.

As the working class acquires its socialist image, it extends its relations with its allies, cooperative farmers, intellectuals, and other sections. The working class supplies agriculture with the modern technology that enables it to use industrial methods. And that change-over has to be made if we are to raise production and labor productivity in agriculture. But the relatively small cooperatives formed in the 50s and 60s cannot make effective use of the new machinery. New forms of division of labor between cooperative farms, state farms and food-industry enterprises, have now become an objective necessity.

Many front-rank cooperatives have set an example in this respect, but most farms have still to restructure. And it falls to the working class and its Party to give every assistance to these front-rankers, generalize their experience and in this way show all our farmers the advantages of industrial methods.

The scientific-technological revolution adds a new dimension to the alliance of working class and intelligentsia, and its strength is a major responsibility of Party ideologico-theoretical work. Bourgeois ideologists, Right and 'Left' revisionists, have made relations between the working class and the intelligentsia the target of vicious attacks. Most opponents of Marxism-Leninism argue that the direction of society should be taken over by intellectuals, but there is also the ultra-Left 'theory' that under socialism the intelligentsia should be relegated to a subordinate position. Both views are wrong and harmful. Practice has shown that only in alliance with the intelligentsia can the working class organically combine the achievements of the technological revolution with the advantages of socialism. And only under working-class leadership can the intelligentsia beneficially serve the working people.

The SUPG is promoting cooperation between the working class and intelligentsia. Closer relations between them, based on the Marxist-Leninist ideology, assume a wide variety of forms. Most of our intellectuals come from the working class and are closely connected with it. The working class gives us more scientists, engineers and artists. An increasing number of technical intellectuals, notably in crucial economic fields, participate directly in production, or stand at the head of production collectives. On the other hand, more and more workers are acquiring technical and economic know-how and using it on their jobs.

Much new has developed also in the alliance of the working class and other groups. For instance, expansion of the service industries stimulates higher productivity among members of artisan cooperatives. Former businessmen who for many years cooperated with the state in building socialism through joint enterprises, have now decided to sell their share to the state. This will further strengthen socialist production relations.

And so, there is an active and multiform process of inter-action between Party, class and people. All sections of the population, though not with the same intensity, are acquiring the ideology and culture of the working class. And with the continued development of the productive forces, production relations and the political superstructure, they are progressively drawing closer to it. The interconnection between scientific Party leadership and mass initiative now stands out more saliently, adding to the importance of the subjective factor – to the astonishment of those who do not understand the essence of socialism. For, as distinct from all preceding social formations, the CC report to the Eighth SUPG Congress says, socialism is created and developed through the conscious and planned activity of the masses.

Conscious and planned activity, Engels wrote, presupposes that man will use the 'laws of his own social action, hitherto standing face to face with man as laws of nature foreign to, and dominating him . . . with full understanding. . . .' (*Anti-Duehring*.) And only Marxism-Leninism gives him an understanding of these laws. That is why our Party has always regarded Marxist-Leninist education important not only for its members, but for the majority of the people. For over 20 years now, about 90 per cent of the more than 1,900,000 Party members and 500,000 non-Party people have been attending classes in Marxist-Leninist theory. Party schools at the bigger factories, at district and regional level – up to the Higher Party School – give tens of thousands a thorough knowledge of the social sciences. Schools run by the Youth League, trade unions and other public organizations, the educational work of the press, radio and television, all serve to disseminate Marxist-Leninist ideas. And the curricula of primary, secondary and higher schools are increasingly being based on Marxism-Leninism.

Small wonder then that education by the Party and socialist state arouses such anger among bourgeois and revisionist ideologists. They wax indignant at the alleged suppression of freedom, though what more could be done for freedom than giving millions a profound knowledge of the laws of social development and the skill to use it. For only then will they begin, 'with full consciousness to make their own history' (Engels, *Anti-Duehring*).

The aim of our many-faceted ideological work has never been (and this is especially so now) merely to impart knowledge, but rather to cultivate 'active knowledge' as a guide to action, as a firm commitment defining the code of conduct of members of socialist society. Mastery of theory fortifies socialist consciousness which influences every aspect of life and work.

The moral image of the new man is cast in developed socialist society. He is no longer the humiliated and subjugated being. New generations are growing up that have not experienced exploitation. The remaking of all social and political forms of life has released many human qualities suppressed or perverted under the exploitive system. Of course, the formation of the new man is a long and complex process: we have to overcome centuries of pervasive

capitalist ideology. But in the interaction of the opportunities the new society provides for the development of the personality and the exacting demands placed on the individual we can see the true rebirth of man.

Of the many features that are part of that process, I shall mention the following. The elimination of competition and of fear of the morrow engender a natural desire and readiness to help each other. Socialist collective work in the factory or the cooperative make for a feeling of community, a feeling of satisfaction in one's creative effort. Work on fulfilling the plan gives one a vital interest in the goals of his collective and of society, a part in running the affairs of his factory, community and state, encourages the quest for knowledge and a sense of responsibility far beyond personal interests. Naturally, all this is accompanied by a constant process of education and self-education at one's place of work or in public organizations. This helps to make socialist moral and political standards the natural basis of human behavior and relationships.

At any rate, it is perfectly clear that socialist practice has effectively refuted the bourgeois theory of man's unalterability, his inborn 'wolfish nature.' The Marxist-Leninist Party's attitude towards the masses is most clearly manifested in its attitude to man, implicit faith in his abilities, in unremitting efforts in his behalf. And that attitude is free both of sentimentality and nihilism. Our Eighth Congress formulated the Party's position in these words: 'We have but one aim and it permeates all Party policy: to do everything for the welfare of the people, for their happiness, for the interests of the working class and all working people. That is the meaning of socialism, the aim for which we are working and fighting.'

This has been given concentrated expression in the main goal of the five-year plan formulated by the Party Congress: 'Continued rise of material and cultural standards through a high growth rate of socialist production, more effective scientifico-technological progress and higher productivity.' This main goal and the ways and means of attaining it determine relations between the Party and the masses. The plan makes it perfectly clear that the axis of socialist planning is continuous improvement of material and cultural conditions.

But at every stage we must ask: What requirements of the people should be given priority, for our resources are not limitless. At the present time we are concentrating on better public health facilities, higher pensions, family grants and benefits, mother and child care.

The Party keeps careful track of the rising requirements of various classes and groups. They are not static and cannot be set once and for all. Indeed, fuller satisfaction of some requirements engenders others. Furthermore, we have to deal not only with requirements that accord with the character and conditions of our society's development. Some groups cannot yet cast off petty-bourgeois views and make exaggerated demands we cannot satisfy at the present time. The task of the Party, therefore, is not only to

take account of requirements and devise means of their satisfaction. It has also, through its work of education, to influence people's understanding of requirements, encourage and support their socialist elements and combat petty-bourgeois, individualistic and egoistic tendencies, which the class enemy is quick to exploit.

The people's constructive effort to raise productivity and accelerate technological progress is an essential condition for satisfying their material and cultural requirements. But creative labor is, at the same time, itself a requirement.

Organically uniting the achievements of the technological revolution with the advantages of socialism is not something that can be left entirely to the experts. The job should, of course, be tackled by researchers and designers, but also by workers, production innovators, rationalizers, etc. The speed and scope of applying the new technology depends not only on more capital investment, but also on effective rationalization in every branch of the economy and on raising the skill of production personnel in order the more quickly to master new production methods and processes. Every group in the working class, the farming community or the technical intelligentsia can and should share in promoting technological progress, for the entire population has a vital stake in its results.

True, socialism's advantages in this field are at first only potential. They become an active factor when fully understood and consciously utilized by the masses. That is why the SUPG is bringing home to the people an understanding of the specific socialist ways of solving the problems of the technological revolution and is helping the masses appreciate its advantages through their own experience. For instance, the Party and trade unions are orienting the socialist emulation and rationalization movements not only on higher productivity, but also on improving working and other conditions at every enterprise. In fact, every step designed to raise productivity must also be designed to provide better working conditions, improve safety facilities, promote a creative attitude to one's job. The idea is to blend the main goal of the five-year plan and the means of its attainment to form an integral whole in every work collective and in society. Every worker has to be made conscious of that.

The Party cultivates a feeling of responsibility among economic executives not only for plan fulfilment and overfulfilment, but also for providing optimal conditions, fostering socialist relations within the collective and helping to form the socialist personality. For socialism can do much more than obviate the negative social consequences of the technological revolution inevitable under capitalism. We use the new technology to attain our social goals.

Nor is it only a matter of producing more of the things the people need. The methods of applying the new technology are important, too. And the Party is combating a narrow technical approach, for machines and other equipment are not only means of producing material values – they create a definite pattern of working conditions. SUPG policy aims at extending the scope of man's creative endeavor and initiative. In this respect we must educate

people to master the socialist style of management, in which the latest scientific methods, from computers to systems analyses, are combined with worker participation in formulating decisions and with the unfolding of socialist democracy at every enterprise.

Solution of the problems posed by the technological revolution is increasingly tied in with cooperation of the socialist countries and their economic integration. Full use of the advantages of the technological revolution requires more than joint planning by staffs of experts. When one country takes on a task upon which plan fulfilment in other countries depends, economic plan indicators become international categories, internationalist obligations. The responsibility of the working people of each socialist country to other members of the community is thus raised to a higher level. This calls for mass understanding of the new responsibility, of the interconnection between national economic goals and the common goal of raising living standards for the entire socialist community. Close cooperation gives our countries an immense advantage in their confrontation with imperialism and benefits the progressive forces in every part of the world, making their struggle all that much easier.

In our own sector of the front, we have to repel ferocious imperialist attacks aimed at disrupting the Party-people relationship. The mass media are being used to palm off 'well-meaning' old anti-Communist fabrications about the working-class Party and 'new' revisionist theories of 'improving socialism' – without and against the SUPG. Every event in the GDR, every statement issued by the Party, every government action is presented in a way calculated to sow doubt and anxiety, to play off one class or group against another: intellectuals against workers, farmers against workers, young against old and, if at all possible, the entire population against the Party. The most favored method of this ideological subversion is to spread all manner of nationalist and anti-Soviet ideas. The purpose is to hamper the growth of socialist consciousness and tear the GDR away from the USSR and other socialist countries.

Our Party has accumulated much experience of ideological struggle and is well prepared to meet the present sharpening of that struggle. The Eighth Congress stressed the need to 'safeguard the working class and all GDR citizens from the poison of anti-communism and defeat anti-communism with the help of our superior ideological weapons.' And we are improving internationalist education, for fidelity to socialist internationalism is, always has been, the most reliable weapon against nationalism.

We take a serious view of the imperialist attacks on the Party's relations with the masses. But we can already confidently say that our ideological adversary will never achieve any of his aims. At every stage of our development we are guided by Lenin's words that 'contact with the masses, i.e., with the overwhelming majority of the workers (and eventually of all working people), is the most important and most fundamental condition for success . . .' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 192). We have always worked on the premise

that the Party must not only set correct tasks, but that its policy must fully reflect the interests of the working people, and moreover not only future interests, but present, immediate interests. Such a policy can be realized only if it becomes the cause of the masses. And today, too, we have constantly to strengthen our links with the masses, discuss every major move with the working people, take counsel with them, carefully consider their needs, bring them into decision-making and into all public affairs, big and small. There are mass organizations covering every aspect of public life, from the school and factory to central government agencies. The list includes councils, commissions, activist groups, each responsible for its particular province. Then there are the permanent organs of the National Front which, especially at local level, direct mass initiative in accomplishing practical tasks in accordance with our overall goals. These organs of socialist democracy guarantee creative mass participation in all public affairs and a constant dialogue between leadership and people.

Close and multiform links with the masses are at the root of all that we have achieved, and the Eighth SUPG Congress has further strengthened and extended these links.

For a government of democratic change

Elio Quercioli

The 13th Congress of the Italian Communist Party proceeded in an atmosphere of political unity and internationalism, as evidenced by the debate, the unanimous approval of the documents, and the enthusiasm over messages of greetings from brother parties and various contingents of the anti-imperialist national liberation movement.

Why Milan?

The Congress sat in Milan from March 13-17. It brought together 1,042 delegates from more than one and a half million members. Thousands of Party activists attended as guests. There were 50 delegations from Communist and Workers' parties and from revolutionary and progressive movements. Representatives of the country's democratic parties, mass movements and organizations followed the debate.

Milan was not chosen accidentally. It is Italy's economic capital and hence a vast working-class agglomeration. The Party's success

in the 1968 election and gains in the big trade union battles of 1969-1970 led to new relations between the Left-wing forces of Milan. The working class mobilized the working people and anti-fascists and repulsed reaction's attacks. The class enemy, alarmed by developments, did its utmost to prevent a general democratic change-over. There were fascist provocations, acts of terrorism, economic blackmail, repressive dismissals, attempts to set the petty-bourgeoisie and lumpenproletariat against the Communists. All this was done to achieve a swing to the right starting from Milan. But the city's workers defeated the reactionaries and helped keep open the way to democratic advance.

The choice of Milan stressed the significance of the battles fought there, the sharpness of current class conflicts, the correctness of the Party's general line and the possibility of further headway.

The Congress opened after the President of the Republic had dissolved parliament and set a new general election for May – one year before expiry of its powers. This move, unprecedented in post-war Italy, was indicative of the gravity of the crisis. Enrico Berlinguer's report and concluding remarks, Luigi Longo's speech and the Congress debate revealed the roots of the crisis and outlined the perspective of struggle for the working class and all democratic and progressive forces.

Causes of the crisis

The election success of the Left in 1968 and the powerful upsurge in the working people's united action led to notable socio-economic gains. A class movement, the strongest since the war, helped to win a pension reform, a bill of working people's rights, a new land rent system and other laws. The ground was laid for a new family law, permitting divorce. Nor was it mere chance that after twenty years of procrastination, the constitutional provision on regional self-government became effective at last.

The political crisis which paralyzed both chambers of parliament and necessitated a prescheduled general election was brought on by the Christian Democrats' refusal to heed the voice of the nation. Their answer to the demand for a democratic change-over was a swing to the right. They ignored the interests and desires of the majority of the people, including the Catholic rank and file following the CDP.

E. Berlinguer in his report made a detailed historical, economic and social analysis of the causes of the national crisis. He pointed out that fascism, an autarchic regime catering to large-scale industry, a regime of military and colonial ventures leading to waste and pillage, had done away with civil liberties. For 20 years, the working people's incomes were drastically curbed – the wage index in 1938 was 20 per cent lower than in 1921. The Resistance was a turning point because it won back the nation's freedom and dignity and, moreover, paved the way for reshaping the economic structure and political organization which had made fascism possible.

However, gross U.S. imperialist interference after the war and the policy which prevailed in the Christian Democratic Party resulted in division of the popular and anti-fascist forces, a comeback of the former ruling classes and a course of economic development based on exploitation and oppression. Economic growth was spurred by the chase for profit and the desire to make Italian products more competitive not through greater domestic investment or more intensive use of production resources, but chiefly by stepping up exploitation. Those years saw the rise of a monstrous social system characterized by intense emigration, low pay, speed-up, immense unemployment and part-time employment, the existence of a million home-workers, child labor on an appalling scale, unfair labor contracts. The South remained backward, a supplier of manpower for the industries of other countries or the more developed areas of the North.

For all that, the ruling classes were unable to nullify the achievements of the anti-fascist revolution or the Resistance. The working people became the leading force of Italian life and history and their sustained and strenuous struggle, which was not bloodless, prevented the CDP and the ruling classes from robbing the people of their democratic rights. Unity of action is now developing in the trade unions, peasant organizations, cooperatives and working people's parties, making it possible to achieve new big social gains.

The Communist Party is stronger than ever. There are good possibilities for democratic advance towards socialism.

Failure of the Center Left

The Communists proposed a different path for the economy — mobilizing all manpower and material resources, extending the home market, raising wages and salaries, carrying out reforms to undercut the rentiers' position, hit the parasitism and loosen the stranglehold of the monopolies, and retooling the economy. Our proposals were increasingly backed by the masses.

However, the CDP's option aggravated difficulties and ended in the present crisis, which has paralyzed industry and raised the number of unemployed to 1.3 million. Christian Democratic policy caused deterioration in housing, education, medical care, transport and the service industry in the congested cities. Life in the countryside and the South has become unbearable.

Trade union unity grew in grim struggles. More emphatically than ever, the working people demanded a different course of national development, one which has been, in the main, recommended by Communists for years.

Class battles after the 1968 election not only resulted in socio-economic gains but produced a crisis and a split in the Center Left. They led to the reversal of the Social Democrats' merger, the Social-Democratic Party seceding from the Socialist Party and the latter reassuming its anti-imperialist class position. Even the

CDP's 'inter-class' principle is in crisis. While the groups setting the tone in this party have managed to bring about a swing to the right in its policy, the bulk of the Catholic rank and file support the demand for a different policy, one of reform and new relations between democratic forces.

The attempt to fall back on fascism so as to check Italy's democratic progress gave rise to a new powerful wave of united action and revived the anti-fascist struggle. As this struggle goes on and democratic institutions receive increasing protection reactionary groups find themselves more isolated. The struggle is becoming a factor for a new political alignment that can pave the way for reform and further democratic advance.

The problem of government

Its analysis of the situation and of the objective processes of recent years gave the 13th Party Congress grounds to speak of the perspective of democratic change. The 12th Congress (early 1969) stressed that the political crisis might go from bad to worse if the contradiction between the demands of the movements active in the country and the political leadership persisted. The crisis has taken a dramatic turn over the past months. The 13th Congress declared that the way out of the impasse is to meet the demands of the masses, who want the country to head for a new social system. This can only be achieved through cooperation of the principal popular currents—Communist, Socialist and Catholic. Left unity is a requisite of cooperation but is not enough to bring it about. Yet the importance of the problems to be solved makes this unity indispensable and the Communists are willing to assume their share of responsibility.

The ICP, Berlinguer said, had earlier taken a principled stand on Communist participation in the government or in the parliamentary majority. 'Participation,' he added, 'is permissible in two cases: given the need to repulse reaction's offensive, which is creating a state of emergency imperilling democracy, or a situation making it possible to carry out a renovation program consciously and actively supported by the masses and fostering unity of the working people and their political and ideological organizations. Judging from the nature of Italy's crisis, the two conditions may coincide today.'

But however pressing the demand for a government of democratic change-over, it is only one aspect of the bigger problem of 'building and asserting a new social and political bloc capable of pursuing a coordinated policy in the country and in elected bodies, in the social, political and ideological spheres.' The Communist alternative to the program of the coalition government, Berlinguer added, has nothing to do with an extended version of the Center Left. Indeed, the problem is to defeat it and end its discrimination against the Communists. As far back as 1963, Palmiro Togliatti warned that no real policy of renovation was possible without

Communists in the government and in the parliamentary majority, for when the problem of reform became the main object of political struggle it would be impossible to win without the direct participation of the biggest renovating force, the Communist Party, and unless the masses were drawn into the managing of public affairs.

The development of relations between the Communist Party and other political forces on a new basis became a key political issue during parliament's previous term. Elected bodies had to reckon with Communist influence. Old barriers crumbled one after another, numerous prejudices stemming from ignorance were discarded and a confrontation of views began. However, the leading CDP group backed down as soon as it realized that new relations with the Communists meant that it must stop supporting the big industrial and financial monopolies and that the working class and other working people would have to be given a bigger say in production organization and the nation's political leadership. The group could or would effect no democratic change, since this called into question the principle of relations between the CDP and ruling social quarters and the very machinery of CDP power.

The CDP Left wing betrayed its weakness by failing to fight out these issues in the party. It reduced the issue of relations with the ICP almost entirely to parliamentary ethics. It did not realize that CDP policy could only be altered under a democratic regime, with the mass movement on the rise.

To get away from solving the key problems of a democratic change-over, the Christian-Democrats chose a path leading to paralysis of parliamentary institutions and to confusion and helplessness in the administrative machinery. A revival of reactionary and fascist activity became possible. The Christian-Democrats' refusal to revise their policy imperilled the existence of republican institutions. However, this could neither break off, nor detract from, the discussion of problems of the nation's political leadership. Important changes occurred in the social and political sphere and the trade union movement. Millions joined in collective action comprising not only Communists and Socialists but part of the Catholic and Christian-Democratic movement, the unaffiliated, youth and women, who were thus given a foretaste of the struggles to come.

These changes were accompanied by closer links between parties of the Left. The autonomous Socialist movement joined the ICP at its 13th Congress. Relations with the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity improved and those between the ICP and Socialist Party also took a turn for the better. New organizations sprang up, such as the Political Movement of Working people launched by Catholic groups. They exert little influence at the moment but they have chosen a secular and Left-wing orientation. Agreement among the Left is translating itself into a commitment to fight in the ranks of mass movements for reform, against fascism. For the first time in 10 years, the Christian Democrats are having to conform their attitude with the demands of Left-wing forces seeking agreement on fundamental issues.

The closer the Left-wing forces' views on specific issues and the greater the consensus on the main problems of national policy, the harder it will be for the CDP to overcome its internal contradictions. The crisis of this party may produce radical changes in Catholic trends and prompt them to come to terms with Socialist and Communist forces. It is this kind of turn that must be brought about. And it is in this sense that the CDP must be influenced. In this way, the idea of forming an alternative government based on the cooperation of the principal popular, democratic and anti-fascist currents will gain ground. Hence the Left-wing forces must go beyond the narrow bounds of unity within which they have kept so far. This is the position of the ICP in its debate with the Socialist Party.

The Communists acknowledge positive changes in Socialist policy. However, they regard as unrealistic the theory that the Socialists could – by cooperating with the Left opposition, the trade unions and the masses (whom they often see as but a pressure force) and by participating in a government that tends to discriminate against Left-wing parties – gradually and painlessly 'abolish the Center through a leftward swing' and force out the rightists, who dominate the CDP, the government and the administrative machinery.

Social and political alliances

The 13th Congress noted that a government of democratic change-over can be won only through struggle. In other words, the party leading the working class must firmly and consistently promote the policy of unity and alliances.

'We do not shut our eyes,' said Longo, 'to the ferocity and dangerous trend of the reactionary offensive. But the forces which can contend with it are great. Much has changed since 1921-1922. While the experience of that period was lost on the bourgeoisie and ruling quarters, it was a good lesson to us, the Party, to the trade unions, the working class and working people generally. We know from that experience what we should and should not do. Those lessons taught us the important thing, that the fight against fascism requires unity of the masses and political initiative, and that it must be carried on by the people. As for us, we may be said to have benefited from those lessons during the Resistance, and I think we used them well, for even in those difficult and tragic circumstances we were able to defeat and expel fascism.'

Now as in the past, Longo said, Communists proceed from those lessons. They must ensure that the authorities of the republican state perform the duty devolving on them from the anti-fascist Constitution. There are no delusions about the possibility of a fascist comeback in Italy. Whoever plans that sort of venture would do well to remember that, if necessary, the ICP can fight and win by rallying all popular and democratic forces as it did at the sharpest and most challenging moments of history.

Speaking of the ICP policy of unity and alliances, Longo stressed that today, in view of the importance and seriousness of the problems we must consider and solve as we fight an enemy commanding enormous resources, the vanguard forces of the working-class movement alone are not sufficient and we need the broadest possible agreements and alliances. These alliances can be effective to the extent that each social group and its political organization fight for their demands.

Success in this is conditional on a decisive turn in a democratic direction by the political and social forces which so far have been an instrument of leading CDP groups. Communists must operate with greater initiative in regard to these forces and the masses, to ensure that they express as forcefully as possible their refusal to serve as a cover for reactionary maneuvers of anti-Communist blackmail.

All who, like Communists, recognize the necessity for popular unity should also condemn and expose those who spread anti-Communist lies and calumnies as enemies of democracy and progress even when their falsehoods are couched in verbal extremism. This is part of the class struggle because its purpose is to prevent isolation of the working class and popular forces from their political vanguard. It is a struggle for working-class and popular unity on a broad basis; it may have its ups and downs, but that is no reason for giving it up.

As for the attitude of so-called Left groups, Longo said that 'those who urge abandoning the realistic path of unity and progress to take a short cut which does not exist and which can only divide the masses and lead to reckless deeds are not helping progress in any way but playing into the hands of those who are out to disrupt working-class and popular unity.'

Concrete program

The Congress approved a program containing specific proposals for the solution of the problems facing the working people and the country. The main provisions of this program make up the ICP platform for the mid-term general election due in May. The Party specified the objectives that can bring the masses together in struggle for a government of democratic change-over. At a time when the ruling classes are proving powerless to solve the nation's problems, the program is a further confirmation of the nationwide leading role of the Party and the working class.

To begin with, the program gives a precise definition of the Italian Communists' position on international issues and formulates demands which should enable Italy to play a new role in Europe and the world. The country must fully regain its sovereignty and national independence, working for peace and peaceful coexistence and the right of every nation to shape its own destiny.

It is now becoming possible for the country, probably for the first time in a quarter of a century, to pursue a foreign policy

militating for unity and not division, a policy that can be backed by all democratic political forces and important ideological trends of the country. A foreign policy precluding all imposition from without and taking specific steps towards peace and friendship (this must today be done primarily in respect of Vietnam, the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the German Democratic Republic) would provide the opportunity to consider fundamental differences over NATO with due regard to current changes, and not within the old and rigid framework of cold war years.

The fight against the NATO pact will be all the more effective, the more closely it links up with the general movement to free Europe from the domination of the dollar and, in broader terms, from U.S. hegemony, and obviates the two opposed blocs until their final dissolution.

European security and recognizing the EEC on democratic lines are decisive in this respect. The task is, first of all, to assert the leading role of the working class in Europe, add leverage to its unions and political organizations and unify the working-class and democratic forces of the Left. Besides, it is necessary to establish new and friendlier relations with the socialist countries and the Third World and help to do away with the fascist regimes in Spain, Greece and Portugal. A further task is to transform the Mediterranean into a peace area where relations between European and Arab countries will not be based on military fiat (imposed by the presence of the U.S. Sixth Fleet and the existence of NATO bases) nor on neo-colonialist ambitions but on full respect for the national independence of every country.

Hence the urgency of ending the Mideast crisis through political negotiations based on Israel's withdrawal from all occupied territories and on recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people; of resolving the Cyprus crisis on the principle of full respect for the island's sovereignty; of maintaining the legitimate rights of the Maltese people.

Lastly, as far as the Common Market is concerned, the problem is, as we see it, to bring into being a genuinely representative European parliament which can exercise control and take the initiative, a parliament elected by universal, direct and proportional vote. It is necessary to pave the way for new and friendlier relations between the EEC and the economic organizations of the socialist countries and other economic systems, depriving the Common Market of its exclusive and autarchic character and making it a factor of international détente.

It is necessary to win and guarantee complete social and economic equality for Italian workers abroad, to assure their democratic rights in regard to labor and political activity.

Steps must be taken to ensure that the dollar becomes an ordinary national currency. This is the paramount condition for ending a situation in which every proposal of fundamental importance coming from our country is overridden by decisions

made outside Italy and Europe and prompted by the U.S. imperialists' economic interests and bid for supremacy.

The Communists are working for the first general European conference on security and cooperation, for a proportional and controlled reduction of armed forces and armaments, for the dismantling of all foreign bases and an end to military dependence. The ICP policy for national sovereignty and international solidarity is entirely in keeping with these objectives and was emphatically reaffirmed by the Congress. The working class and the people want friendly relations to develop throughout the world. The ICP therefore takes joint action with all who seek independence for the peoples and freedom for the working masses, with all who strive for peace and socialism.

The program sets out the Party's home policy, giving priority to the problems of fostering democracy and restructuring the state—revising the powers of parliament, lowering suffrage age to 18, promoting the autonomy of local bodies and popular participation in them, carrying out a general reform of administrative power and justice, safeguarding the rights of national minorities, reorganizing the armed forces and the police on democratic principles, effecting a reform of the media, giving the state sector a new role in the economy.

The program defines the three key objectives of a new economic policy and democratic programming: full employment with the maximum technological progress, secondly, ending disparities, primarily by solving the problem of the South, and thirdly, ensuring that the citizens' main educational, health, housing, transport and biospheric requirements are met. The program specifies the steps leading to these goals.

The closing section of the program, 'For a Moral, Cultural and Ideological Reform,' is concerned with family law, the service industry, education, culture, and free time.

Implementation of the program approved by the 13th Congress will put a future of progress and peace within reach of our people. The program is called one of democratic change-over because it can form the pivot of a broad democratic alliance. Nor is it a product of armchair speculation but a result of analysis of the struggles and experiences of the masses.

The main purpose of the program, as, indeed, of all ICP activity, is to advance the country to socialist society. By following the road charted by the October Revolution, socialism proved its superiority and its ability to lift the masses out of a backward condition in a matter of decades, elevating them to the stature of makers of world history.

The tasks set by the 13th Congress of the Italian Communist Party suggest the general direction and show the path along which the country can advance to building the historic edifice of socialism, whose groundwork is the political and historical heritage of more than five decades' struggle. In the course of this struggle Italy's Communists have made a decisive effort towards establish-

ing the leading role of the working class throughout the nation. To assert working-class hegemony in struggle for democratic progress, for a far-reaching democratic change-over, is a requisite and earnest of building socialism, however difficult or protracted the battles which the working people of our country may yet have to fight.

In the Italian general election on May 7-8 last, the Communist Party polled 9,085,927 votes, or 27.3 per cent, for its Chamber of Deputies nominees. This was 0.3 per cent more than in 1968, when the ICP won 177 seats against today's 179. If we add to these the five seats formerly held by the breakaway Manifesto group and now regained by the Communists, the ICP has seven new seats to its credit. The Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity (ISPPE) polled 648,368 votes, or 1.9 per cent of the total, that is, 2.5 per cent less than in 1968. The Italian Socialist Party (ISP) polled 3,209,503 votes, or 9.6 per cent, which won it 61 seats. The respective figures for the other contenders were: Italian Social-Democratic Party (ISDP) 1,716,197; 5.1 and 29; Italian Republican Party (IRP) 953,681; 2.9 and 14 (gain of five); Christian Democratic Party (CDP) 12,943,675; 38.8 (0.3 below 1968), 267 (gain of one); Italian Liberal Party (ILP) 1,300,074; 3.9 (1.9 below 1968) and 21 (loss of 10); Italian Social Movement (ISM) and Italian Democratic Party of Monarchic Unity (IDPMU - Right-wing reactionaries and partly neo-fascists), on a joint ticket, 2,894,789; 8.7 (2.9 over 1968) and 56 (gain of 26); Manifesto group 223,789; 0.8 and 0; Political Movement of Working People (new Left Catholic organization) 119,772; 0.4 and 0.

As for the Senate election, the ICP and ISPPE, which joined forces, secured 94 seats, the ISP 33, ISDP 11, IRP 5, CDP 136, ILP 8 and ISD/IDPMU 26.

These returns warrant the following conclusions:

Despite the intensity of the election campaign, in which the reactionaries, conservatives and moderates fought an all-out battle against the Communists, the ICP again scored gains, which showed that it not only follows a correct policy but is closely linked with the masses and enjoys their support.

While the Rightists and neo-fascists managed slightly to improve their positions by taking advantage of discontent among the middle strata, they failed to achieve the results they had hoped for. Nevertheless, the increased number of votes cast for the neo-fascists is an alarming signal requiring decisive counter-measures by the anti-fascist masses.

The Christian Democrats, who command a relative majority, were unable to effect the swing to the right in government policy they had wanted to bring about by strengthening the 'Center,' that is, themselves.

Vietnam revolution is unconquerable

Letters from DRV

Rockets and palm trees. Gun emplacements and machine-guns. Twisted metal and skeletons of burned cars at crossings, bridges and railway tracks. Bomb craters along the roads. Demolished houses, hospitals, and pagodas. Air-raid shelters and round concrete slits lining streets. And everywhere people in uniform, carrying arms.

A string of bent female figures against the green of paddies, working the rice crop. Children numerous – on the backs of buffaloes, angling by the riverside, helping grown-ups. And a perpetual stream of cyclists crowding the roads from morning to night. In the evening dusk, in windows of public buildings people bent over books or listening to the lecturer. And right out on the sidewalks tables where you get a cup of coffee or some of the traditional green tea.

All that is Vietnam, a country in the focus of numerous political problems, holding the attention of the world, Vietnam – where the revolution moves forward against heavy odds. The word 'Vietnam' has become the epitome of the invincibility of freedom and independence, but also a stark reminder of colonial aggression and imperialism's criminal nature.

America's longest colonial war

We were in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam when the U.S. air and naval strikes were in comparatively low key. The bombing was still solely of territory adjoining the demilitarized zone (north of the 17th parallel), properly described as a relative calm before the escalation in April.

The war in Vietnam is the longest ever fought by the United States. American involvement in Vietnam affairs began in 1945-46.* Presidents, generals and ministers have since succeeded each other, expounding changes in strategy and giving new names to the colonial war, while allies in piracy dropped away one by one. What did not change was the policy of expanding aggression, the wish to impose Washington's will by any means, not short of mass annihilation and wholesale destruction of dwellings and the natural environment.

There has been no peace in Vietnam for years. But it has been genocide ever since the transoceanic 'champions of freedom' disembarked on her shores. U.S. spokesmen claim that in North Viet-

*Until 1954, the time of the Geneva agreements, the U.S. paid 80 per cent of the bill for France's colonial war in Vietnam.

nam only military targets are attacked. That is untrue. Here is one of many facts. In 1965 in Thanh Hoa U.S. planes destroyed a hospital several stories high, with 570 beds. Was this an accident for pilots bragging of precision bombing? In 1970 the hospital was rebuilt. Whether seen at ground level or from above, it was clearly a hospital. But on December 26, 1971, the Americans destroyed it again. We were in the surviving wards and saw little children with limbs torn off, or with injured skulls. . . . And in the yard an unexploded bomb 'taller' by far than a ten-year-old child.

'The Americans know they are hitting hospitals,' Dr. Vo Dinh Chi said. 'After hitting hospitals they drop fragmentation bombs to mow down survivors. But our hospital is in the heart of a large housing development, and we may even grant that they sought another target, and hit us instead. Accidents do happen. But why do they recur? And how to explain that they have been bombing a leper hospital of 1,600 patients . . . standing in open country? It is simply U.S. tactics to spread disease.'

The facts speak for themselves: U.S. planes have destroyed 100 hospitals, 353 maternity hospitals, 475 schools, and 420 pagodas and temples; they raided six DRV cities (three were razed to the ground), 48 out of our 64 towns (15 demolished), 133 out of 258 district centers, and 3,275 out of 5,178 villages.

Imperialist U.S. ideologues tell the world that America is the first to have entered the new technotronic age. The means of annihilation are accordingly technotronic. Vietnam, Indochina, is for them the testing ground. But the American invaders admit that the powerful ultra-modern arsenal yields miserable results.

The people of Vietnam are unconquerable, because they are fighting for a just cause—for the freedom and independence of their country, for lofty ideals. Their tenacity may be traced to many organically linked factors: the correct policy of the Working People's Party, the socialist system, glorious traditions, aid from socialist countries, notably the Soviet Union, and international support and solidarity.

Vietnam's greatest war of resistance

This is how the 20th Plenary Meeting of the Working People's Party Central Committee described it. The U.S. imperialists claim that 'the North is committing aggression against South Vietnam.' An unblushing and dirty lie. Vietnam is indivisible. Has it not been one country through many centuries? Did not the Geneva agreements, so flagrantly flouted by the USA, envisage a single Vietnam?

Through all the years of resistance, at the peak of the most brutal bombing, the DRV reply was always clear and firm: in face of the U.S. imperialist aggression it is the duty and right of every Vietnamese to fight in any place in Vietnam territory; never will anyone prevent the people of North Vietnam from helping their

^oWe learn from *Le Monde*, May 9, 1972, that the hospital was again destroyed on April 27: '... it was attacked in several successive waves, the planes dropping 36 explosive bombs and an undetermined number of perforating bombs with annihilating effect.'

brethren in the South; never will anyone prevent the people of the South from gaining ever greater victories.

With the war raging year after year, one may legitimately ask how the people can stand it: has fatigue set in? (Some bourgeois journalists maintain that this must be the case.)

We have not heard anyone say the war is easy. It is a grim, inescapable fact. It leaves the people no choice but to fight on. Peasants, soldiers, veterans of the revolution – all refer to Ho Chi Minh, who expressed their common feeling:

'The war can go on another 5, 10, 20 years, or longer. Hanoi, Haiphong and other cities, and the factories, can be razed to the ground. But the people of Vietnam will not bow! *Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom.*'

We visited an anti-aircraft battery near Hanoi. The commander and political officer told us the story of their unit, a relatively new one. It has been in 100 engagements, has shot down seven planes. Its men are sons of workers and peasants. They were born after the 1945 August Revolution.* Young faces, looking out eagerly into the world. They learn and drill avidly, mastering modern combat equipment and warcraft; and they are steeling themselves morally.

'This means,' political officer Tam said, 'that we shall fight on as long as the last man is alive. Calmly, resolutely. Help each other in battle. Our comrade, Nguyen Tien Co, had received three stomach wounds, but stayed at his post until the "all clear." It took several operations before the doctors found the plastic pellet.** When he returned to the unit he was 12 kilos underweight. He trained, and is now well. He was decorated, and has been accepted into the Party.'

War has become an occupation – for every citizen of the Republic. We were deeply impressed by a women's self-defense group in Thanh Hoa Province. Since many of the men have been called up, women replace them, learning to use arms, to drill, track down enemy agents, and ward off air or naval strikes. These self-defense units exist everywhere – in the cooperatives, the enterprises and offices. The girls we met were the first girls in the Republic to have shot down a plane, giving impulse to the women's self-defense movement.

In Hoa Loc commune a thin girl of medium height, whose fragile, tender beauty one would never associate with the image of a commander, but who was one, told us the story of her group. 'The youth responded as one man to the Party's call,' she said. 'We learned using rifles and fired at enemy planes. When anti-aircraft machine-guns were supplied applications poured in. Our group had 35 girls. On June 6, 1967, we fought our first engagement. Unsuccessfully. Some men said fighting was not a woman's business, and this frightened us. We asked ourselves why we had failed. Two reasons were given: first, many were over-excited, and, second,

* Establishment of people's power and proclamation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

** Another token of U.S. 'progress': plastic pellets in fragmentation bombs do not show on X-ray films.



Tactical Instruction of a self-defense group (Quang Ninh Province)

because of this reacted too slowly to orders, delayed fire. We wrote letters pleading not to disband us and promising to do better next time. Again we studied and drilled day and night.

'Reconnaissance aircraft appeared on June 16. We knew they would be followed by the main party. Sure enough, two planes soon appeared. First, they circled. Then one climbed for a power dive, while the other hung back to spot the ground fire. So we let the first one drop its bombs and turn back. The

second plane, thinking there was no danger, dived too. We fired and shot it down. It fell near the shore and its remnants are now in the provincial museum.

'Those who had had no faith in us women, know better now.'

We may add that to understand how the Vietnamese live and fight, one must give up many generally accepted notions. War has become part of their lives. The entire country is a theatre of war. Whatever a man's job – his main purpose is to do his bit for the defense of the North, and liberation of the South. Soldiers, peasants, street-vendors and children – all of them take part. In the fighting and in production.

Here a story by political officer Tam, whom we have already met:

'We are always conscious of the concern for us. After a battle or on a hot day women bring us water, mend our uniforms. Young people take part in the battles. Children fetch green twigs for camouflage and rags to clean our guns . . . We respond in kind: build our own barracks and grow rice, fruit and vegetables in our free time.'

Nguyen Van Son, an official of the Thanh Hoa administrative committee, related the following:

'The air strikes are often unintermittent. The supply of ammunition must then be unintermittent too. For this we need the help of the population. In one of the engagements, a well-known labor heroine, Nguyen Thi Tuyen, helped carry shells. Uphill, cases exceeding her own weight. She is 48 kilos and her height is 155 centimetres. We asked how she did it. She replied: "I could never have done it, but in battle it's different".'

The war sets its own rules. It generates a spirit of competition – between people, collectives, districts; everyone wants to be the bravest, the most inventive, the most effective in battle.

The model are the projects most exposed to air and naval strikes. Hamrong bridge along Route 1 – the main artery stretching more than 2,000 km. from North to South (all the way to Saigon) – has

withstood more than 5,000 raids, over 7,000 tons of bombs, 500 guided missiles, hundreds of fragmentation bombs and scores of naval bombardments. One hundred U.S. planes have been shot down. The vicinity is literally dug up by bombs and shells. The hills have lost at least one-sixth of their volume. But, though scarred and battered, the bridge stands. We saw it.

Thanh Hoa Province has a great war record. As many as 284 planes have been shot down, scores of warships have been hit. The movement of women's self-defense groups started there, and eleven of them have shot down at least one or two planes each. The self-defense groups of elderly men (54 to 62) were also initiated in the province, and it was the first to use bicycles to move supplies. A way was devised for loads of 370 kilos per bicycle, now raised to 750 kilos.

We were shown a monument for the men who shot down the 2,000th U.S. plane.

In Quang Ninh Province people are proud that they downed three of the planes that first bombed the DRV in August 1964, following the notorious Tonkin 'incident.' And the Hongai coal-miners told us one of the air pirates was hit directly overhead.

Outwardly, life in the country follows its usual course. But at the first alarm everyone gets ready to help the soldiers. All are members of a big family. This is the inexhaustible source of strength, confidence and optimism, which nothing – neither U.S. brutality nor the long duration – can suppress.

Socialism fortified

To repulse the aggression and build socialism, to combine defense and construction – this is the dual aim. The war is a people's war. This means that everything is subordinated to its demands, to the aim of victory. But we can look at it from another angle: the revolution is a single process of socialist construction, in which defense is the principal element.

The Working People's Party of Vietnam defined the main aim as follows: 'The cardinal task is to resist the American aggression in the name of national salvation, while accelerating the rate of socialist construction.'

The U.S. air war has become a permanent factor undercutting the results of the nation's constructive labor. More than 2,000 air strikes were made against the DRV in 1971 alone. Then the country suffered a flood of unprecedented proportions. Against such a background the following announcement of the Party's 20th Plenary Meeting sounded like an announcement of victory:

'In 1971 the national economy was restored and further advanced, production was more stable, and life improved. The economic situation is changing for the better.'

Agriculture is a key area in Vietnam's economy. The 1971 winter and spring rice crop (the main staple) was unprecedented in yield per hectare, total cultivated area, and output (400-500 thousand tons more than in previous years).

Comrade Nguyen Van Tan, secretary of the Party branch in Hoang Qui commune (Thanh Hoa Province), told us Communists



A Hanoi kindergarten group was glad to pose for us

and peasants were working with dedication to increase the rice crop. By now the mark of five tons per hectare (this is the national target) has been substantially exceeded. This is the result of better use of peasants' know-how, better techniques, richer strains, and more fertilizer. Bigger crops are grown not only by intensifying labor, but by making essential improvements.

Nguyen Van Son, an official of the Thanh Hoa administrative committee, said:

'In peacetime none of our districts were ever able to grow five tons of rice per hectare. Now five of them do. Techniques are improving. But the main thing is the peasants' determination. They work much harder, for they know rice is needed by the soldiers and the people. The cooperative near Hamrong bridge follows this motto: If bombs fall in daytime, work at night; if they fall at night, work in daytime; if they fall day and night, work day and night.'

Out of the revolutionary objectives, the technical revolution is regarded as the pivot. It will turn small production into large, and will determine the outcome of the struggle in favor of socialist relations.

Vietnam resembles many developing countries—keenly aware of the problems of present and future economic development, and looking for the best solutions. No one has the least intention of conserving the faults. Backwardness (where it exists) must be eliminated quickly; development—where conditions permit—must be based on modern science and technology.

Our trip to Hongai (Quang Ninh Province), the coal-mining land and center of working-class concentration, was a good example. The way production is organized here symbolizes modern industry. Coal is mined by the open-cast method, in huge pits. It is worked with excavators and transported by 25-ton tip-up lorries, chiefly of Soviet make. Operators are few. Such an industrial area is, of course, unusual in the midst of the lush and exotic landscape.

A member of the Hatu mine Party Committee told us: 'For our workers mining is like fighting on the front. We exceeded the general 1971 plan by 37 per cent and the coal target by 23. We are putting in new machines and learning advanced techniques. Ninety-five per cent of the mining is mechanized. And we want every machine to perform with the utmost efficiency.'

The obstacles to modern large-scale industry are great. Due to the bombing many enterprises are compelled to disperse, to move to less

convenient, but safer locations, seeking shelter in the hills. Of course, this is an additional burden on the economy.

We visited a workshop in a mountain cave. Its head, Hoang Tinh, as young as all his subordinates, showed us around. The workers had carried their own lathes and installed them. They have a mobile generator to power production if outside sources fail. Production targets are met, and the workshop has now learned to make some of the more difficult parts which it formerly got ready-made. The young work force is strong, enthusiastic, and optimistic.

We were told about production democracy: The people must feel that they are 'collective owners.' We were also told of the difficulties. Participation, for example, requires spare time. And spare time is a commodity that is mostly lacking. People are concentrated on fighting the aggressor, fulfilling and overfulfilling assignments. Besides, economic experience is none too plentiful, and knowledge of modern management methods still scarce. In cooperatives, administrators are inclined to take on too many responsibilities and are only still learning to work collectively. Government agencies, too, often set the cooperatives tasks without consulting them first. True, there is nothing unusual about these things, for they occur in any socialist country during the emergence of people's democracy and the transition to socialist economy and new labor discipline. What is important, however, is that they are seen in a spirit of self-criticism.

The external and internal difficulties are certainly great. But the socialist society in Vietnam is making progress. Take a few facts. Elections to state bodies are held regularly. The National Assembly functions effectively. Apart from key political and economic issues, its March session, for example, discussed such matters as the work of people's courts and people's control agencies.

The parties are active (e.g., the Democratic Party, founded in years gone by by patriotic sections of the petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia); so is the National Front, and various mass organizations. Preparations are under way for the Third Congress of Vietnam Trade Unions, which have a membership of several millions.

Enrolment in schools and higher educational establishments is seven million and rising. The medical services are improving. Due concern is shown for culture – radios are widespread, television has been started, and new museums are opening. A tree-planting festival is held annually in commemoration of President Ho Chi Minh. This year, DRV president Comrade Lon Duc Thang took part in it.

The war creates abnormal conditions. One expects to see hunger, profiteering, corruption, demoralization (South Vietnam is an example). There is nothing of the kind in the DRV. Despite the bitter fighting life in the Republic keeps a normal rhythm. It is modest, hard, sometimes austere, without extravagance.

One night, after a hard day's work, Dang Van Boi, member of the provincial Party Committee, came to Thanh Hoa. Silver-haired, well on in years, slim and alert like most Vietnamese, he told us that in all the years of war the Americans had failed to interrupt traffic along Route 1 for more than three hours at a time. Then he added:

'Though we have been fighting for several decades, we are getting stronger.' This was not an empty boast. Along with their heroism and dedication in battle, history will acclaim the Vietnamese people's extraordinary revolutionary feats of labor. The U.S. imperialist aggression, the intent to block the Vietnam revolution, is frustrated by the indestructible will of the people of the DRV.

Hanoi-Prague

Carlos Alba, Alexei Masyagin

Petty-bourgeois revolutionism in Chile

Jorge Texier

It will soon be two years since the Popular Unity bloc triumphed. The Allende government has effected a series of important measures to improve the standard of living, recover the country's natural resources exploited by U.S. monopolies and force oligarchic clans out of their positions in government, banking, agriculture, industry and trade. The progress made to date is a result of sustained effort to win the people's support for the changes and exposure of the ideological subversion of reactionary elements, the oligarchy and foreign monopolies on the one hand, and various sectarian, divisive and ultra-Leftist trends, on the other.

Consolidation of the Popular Unity government and the winning of full political power by the proletariat and the people will depend, first and foremost, on whether or not the class enemy succeeds in splitting the revolutionary forces. This imparts special significance to the fight against the ideology impeding reconstruction.

Ultra-Leftist opportunism

Half a century ago Lenin made an admirably accurate diagnosis of the infantile disorder of 'Leftism' in the Communist movement. A Communist party can play the role of vanguard in the revolutionary process provided it attains political maturity in uncompromising ideological struggle. With the 'Leftist' disorder in their ranks overcome, Chile's Communists today combat ultra-Leftist trends outside the working-class parties. As the Latin American revolution went on there appeared a fairly wide range of Trotskyist, Maoist and anarchist views. The Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR) is the biggest ultra-Leftist alignment in our country. Formed shortly after the defeat of the popular forces and the Christian Democratic victory in the 1964 election, it comprises elements, mostly from the academic community, that broke away from the Communist or So-

cialist parties and put forward the slogan 'Rifles instead of Votes.'

The people's victory in 1970 brought no substantial change in MIR ideology. José Rodríguez Elizondo, author of 'Ultra-Leftist Mythology,' aptly describes that ideology as a 'fetishist revolutionism.' Chile's ultra-Leftists make an absolute of their 'revolutionary' methods and pose them against the 'reformist' methods of the Communist, Socialist and other Popular Unity parties.

They admit that the electoral victory was a gain and that there can be no advance without the masses fighting in common. But their real attitude to the Popular Unity bloc and government is one of defiance. Parading as revolutionaries who express the interests of the workers and peasants, they demagogically insist on repaying the masses 'some of the confidence shown by them' and on giving them a chance to 'decide on their own path.'

The ultra-Leftists' 'revolutionary' activity manifested itself above all in the countryside. They incited the peasants to seize land and interfered with the procedure of the agrarian reform specified by the Popular Unity, and this tended to turn what was an anti-oligarchic measure into an unwarranted attack on small and medium landholders and to mislead politically ignorant peasants. The government's intentions were misrepresented, the reactionary press and opposition parties gained arguments in their favor and, indeed, extended their social base in some rural areas, all of which handicapped the implementation of changes.

MIR often resorted to terroristic methods. This compelled the government to call a halt to MIR's practices and set about vacating the unlawfully seized lands. Thereupon the ultra-Leftists accused the Popular Unity of 'taking repressive action against the working people.'

'Leftist' demagogy is a cover for hegemonist ambitions. By calling for the expropriation of landed estates without compensation and contrary to legal provisions, and by operating independently of the agencies in charge of the reform, MIR lays claim to the role of leader of the peasant masses and is eager to substitute for their class organizations. It opposes the setting up of cooperatives in the reorganized sector of agriculture, dismissing out of hand the socialist countries' experience in collectivizing agricultural production and alleging that the Popular Unity bloc's measures are aimed at 'extending private property in the countryside.'

Nor is the harm done by the 'Leftists' in industry negligible. Big monopoly enterprises were nationalized against sustained opposition by the Right-wing parties. The Christian Democrats claimed in Congress that the measure was unlawful. These attacks are refuted by the fact that the working people themselves decided on nationalizing the enterprises and foiled the subversion of the owners, combated plunderers of national wealth and saboteurs in production. They helped to disclose numerous attempts at withholding consumer goods or deliberately cutting output to cause shortages and encourage profiteering.

While the Right is trying to subvert the economy, MIR could think of nothing better than to charge the government with divert-

ing the working people from their revolutionary tasks. With but a vague notion of socio-democratic and political problems, the ultra-Leftists are afflicted with the itch of impatience, mentally skipping over stages of the revolution. To quote Lenin, they 'confine themselves to abstractly comparing "socialism" with "capitalism" and fail to study the concrete forms and stages of the transition that is taking place' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 335). This misleads the politically immature, prevents them from seeing their chief enemies and results in underestimation of the anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic and anti-monopoly changes under way.

President Allende stressed that the Popular Unity bloc and government are against the unauthorized takeover of enterprises because the result is anarchy in production, and against the seizure of housing earmarked for the working people. To maintain order, he said, we need an organized, politically alert and well-disciplined working class realizing its great historic mission.

Chile's ultra-Leftists scorn the Communist and Socialist parties and their experience of the class struggle. Speaking to a meeting in Temuco, the General Secretary of MIR refused to recognize their revolutionary role. He spoke of them as groups claiming the role of 'arbiters of the class struggle.'

In his questions to President Allende, Régis Debray cast doubt on the policy of the working-class parties. 'Will not that which made it possible to form the government,' he asked, 'bar the people from power? Surely the conditions of the genesis of the process are also those blocking it?' The smokescreen of his highly intellectual rhetoric conceals Debray's doubts about the revolutionary role of the working-class parties. His ideas are echoed by Manuel Cabieses, editor of *Punto Final*, who speaks of 'reformist factors' inside the Popular Unity, saying that they prevent the workers and peasants from 'becoming the pivot of government activity.' The ultra-Leftists were quick to embrace the ideas of André Gunder Frank, a West German economist lecturing at the University of Chile. One of Frank's latest books disputes the revolutionary character of the Popular Unity government's economic policy and pointedly emphasizes the weaknesses of the bloc, which he accuses of failing to mobilize the masses for struggle.

The ultra-Leftists underrate the changed class character of the government, the most important component of political power in Chile. Hence they also belittle nationalization and the agrarian reform. They hold that these measures are inadequate and that to strive for increased production is not a revolutionary task. Their dogmatic, anti-Marxist formula suggests that the right thing to do at the moment would be to engage in a head-on clash with imperialism by using force – which to their way of thinking can only mean armed struggle – to step up the offensive against private property, dissolve parliament and form a new army to replace the existing one. Preparing the masses politically and technically to seize power is their alternative to the battle for production. This approach is absolutized and leaves no room for advancing with the people or taking account of their real needs. Besides, the ultra-Leftists' sim-

plistic formula ignores the main direction of the reactionaries' blows – industrial subversion, attempts to discredit the government by playing up its difficulties in supply, denial of the workers' and technicians' ability to run the nationalized enterprises, and so on.

The ultra-Leftists meet fitting rebuff. At a nationalized wood-working enterprise, MIR activists introduced an egalitarian pay system. It was not long, however, before the workers rejected it, largely as a result of patient explanatory work by Popular Unity parties. And here is another example. Debate and self-criticism in a MIR branch led to a resolution dissolving the organization, some of the members joining the Socialist Party and others, the Communist Party. The reason? The engineers and workers in the organization could not stomach MIR's anti-communism.

The election of Popular Unity candidates to the executive council of the Student Federation at the University of Concepcion was a blow to MIR, which had dominated that mass organization. But rather than making a self-critical assessment of its setbacks, MIR smeared Popular Unity organizations. The Socialist Youth League branded MIR's attacks as 'an indication of petty-bourgeois vanity and arrogance.' It exposed the ultra-Leftists' disastrous policy, saying that 'the decision of the Concepcion students showed that the leadership had discredited itself by its bureaucratic, sectarian and demobilizing practices.'

Evaluating the outcome of the January by-elections in the O'Higgins, Colchagua and Linares provinces, where reaction scored some gains, the Communist Party suggested that, to inflict a final defeat on the chief enemy, Popular Unity's strategy at this stage should be, above all, to isolate him and win over the greatest possible number of allies. This is the only policy that could frustrate reactionary attempts to form a large opposition bloc. To win allies means securing support for government policy from the segment of the population still following the Christian-Democratic Party (CDP). This, in turn, calls for links with those under CDP influence, for still more active work in mass organizations and a public dialogue with the CDP.

MIR spokesmen accused the Communist Party of blocking the working people's struggle, of bowing to CDP demands, of showing a readiness to accept its leadership and negotiate with 'Christian-Democratic fascism.' These allegations are absurd, for the dialogue in question is neither a compromise nor a concession to the CDP. Its purpose is to reach an agreement meeting the people's interests.

Such a policy is right by virtue of its class character. It gives priority to satisfying the working people's demands and to implementing the Popular Unity program. However, it will be hard to put into practice if the ultra-Leftist charge of fascism against all who openly oppose the government, and hence the CDP, gains widespread recognition.

The situation in our country today is far more complicated than one would gather from the primitive formulas of those parading as the true revolutionaries. Blinded by political day-dreaming the 'Leftists' failed to see the highly significant fact that Concepcion stu-

dents belonging to the CDP took a stand against the Right in the elections to the Student Federation's executive and, moreover, condemned the CDP-National Party deal to put forward a joint list in the general election.

Ultra-Leftist theory and practice tend to narrow rather than extend the social base of the multi-party government operating from anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic positions. Chile's ultra-Leftists, says a statement of the Popular Unity bloc's Political Committee, stand aloof from the revolutionary process. They make no objective assessment of gains, and their policy misleads some sections of the people. On the whole, they prejudice government efforts to carry out big changes.

At a time when the people's destiny is being shaped and when a mounting mass struggle is isolating the more reactionary forces of society, ultra-Leftist groups, demoralized and driven to despair by their inability to participate in the developing process, openly choose anti-communism. This is what MIR has done. For all its revolutionary talk and protestations of love for the masses, it brings grist to the mill of sworn enemies of the working-class movement.

Ultra-Leftist provocations figure prominently in the anti-popular plans of the CIA and U.S. imperialism. A secret report on the ITT divulged by J. Anderson, an American journalist, says that there were attempts to urge Frey or the military to restrain Allende, and that an effort is being made to goad the ultra-Leftists into acts of violence that could furnish a pretext for military intervention.

Chile's ultra-Leftists objectively play the role of provocateurs in the service of extreme reaction. Unless MIR reconsiders its policy the working class and the people will sweep it out as a roadblock hindering their advance to socialism.

Some history

The Chilean 'Left's' ideology goes well back to the past. Anarchist views became widespread as early as the 19th century. Later, anarchists attacked Recabarren's efforts to found a Communist party and unite the proletariat. The policy line of the Party, founded in 1922, did not at the time adequately reflect national reality. The Party had yet to become a mass organization. One of its leaders, Manuel Hidalgo, who afterwards turned out to be a factionalist and a Trotskyist provocateur, encouraged sectarian action which severed the Party from the working class and large sections of the population. While Hidalgo pursued this policy disastrous to the Party, Recabarren was fighting for Communist participation in parliament and calling on small manufacturers, merchants and intellectuals to cooperate with the working class. As a result, the Second Party Congress (1923) approved a program upholding the demands of the main population groups.

During the 1927-1931 dictatorship the Communists fought for a broad democratic movement. Operating underground, they formed a number of student and intellectuals' organizations and called for a united front against the dictatorship and imperialism. Hidalgo's Trotskyist group tried to involve the Party in reckless ventures

and entered into collusion with the bourgeoisie. It was expelled from our ranks.

From its 1933 conference on, the Party carefully studied Chilean reality to define the character of the revolution and its motive forces in more exact terms. Under the influence of the experience of the French Popular Front and the policy of uniting anti-fascist forces announced at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, the Party worked for the unity of the trade union movement and democratic organizations. A Popular Front was set up, winning the 1938 presidential elections.

Expelled from the Party, the Trotskyists founded their 'Communist Left' organization and campaigned against the Popular Front, trying to disrupt Communist-Socialist unity. Trotskyists staged provocations in the universities and urged the masses to oppose the people's coalition government. All this was not unlike the present activity of MIR and other ultra-Leftist organizations.

The Party has sought unity on a broad basis ever since the Popular Front came into existence. But adventurers and provocateurs refused to stop. A new factional group formed in the Party. While paying lip-service to the policy of alliances, it called for the formation of putschist groups and raids on shopping centers and transportation. After winning over an appreciable number of young Communists, it pitted them against the Party leadership. This made for the isolation of the revolutionary vanguard from the masses. The Party expelled the provocateurs. By organizing broad popular actions, the Communists helped to establish a United Federation of Working People in 1953.

At the illegal 10th Party Congress (1956) we carefully and self-critically studied the records of the 20th Congress of the CPSU and set ourselves as an immediate political perspective the task of establishing closer links with the masses and steadily carrying forward the revolution. 'Our country,' said Party General Secretary Galo Gonzalez, 'gives examples suggesting the possibility of changing the present regime by peaceful, parliamentary means, through elections or in other ways . . . A mass movement would impart a democratic content to these methods and ways.' The 10th Party Congress set the course for a Democratic Front of National Liberation. The program adopted by it stressed the role of the working class in the revolutionary process. It described the Chilean revolution as anti-oligarchic, anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist, formulated policy towards the Party's allies and inferred the possibility of a course which, based on widespread mass struggle, would obviate civil war in winning political power. Thus the Party evolved a political platform while carrying on an ideological struggle and ridding its ranks of splitters, of Right and 'Left'-wing opportunists, and advancing with firm step to its chosen goals.

Unity and the ideological struggle

In later years the Party launched an offensive against all opportunist, anti-Communist and anti-Soviet trends, paving the way for a lasting Communist-Socialist alliance. Popular unity was forged in

a setting of intensive and active struggle by the working people, at a time when the Communists won predominant influence in the trade union and university movements and their policy of broad-base alliances was supported by the masses. This policy did not prevent the Party from carrying on ideological work. It helped the Party to clarify to the masses national and international problems from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and to further the Party's independence.

Many attempts were made to trip us up. Régis Debray's theses encouraged attempts to organize an armed movement, to eliminate the Marxist-Leninist Party and detract from the role of the working class as the main motive force of the revolutionary process. To split our ranks, some elements tried to found a 'parallel' party – a dogmatic and anti-Soviet one.

Despite past reverses, they are trying to operate under the signboard of 'Revolutionary Communist Party'; their renegade periodical, *Causa Marxista-Leninista*, is occupied with distorting the revolutionary precepts of the founders of the world Communist movement.

Firmness and consistency enabled our Party to bridge the numerous difficulties. Marxist-Leninist propaganda among the students helped to dampen the adventurist trends, prevented the spread of Marcuse's theories and eliminated manifestations of neo-Trotskyism resulting from misinterpretations of the nature of the workers' and students' struggles in France.

Why is it that even with power in the hands of a popular government backed by the working class and the masses, ultra-Leftist ideology still finds some acceptance among the population? Largely because not all of the problems facing the people have been solved – far from it. The discontent of politically ignorant working people affords fertile soil for ultra-Leftist, Trotskyist and anti-Communist ideas. 'Ultras turn up where we Communists and our allies slacken our effort or do a poor job,' said Orlando Millas, Communist MP.

The spread of 'Leftist' ideology is also a result of the abrupt swing of certain population groups to a revolutionism which often conceals a desire to compete with the working-class parties, to gain political supremacy. In some cases, Leftist talk is used to disguise group interests and bourgeois opportunism.

Imperialism and the oligarchy are doing their utmost to split the Popular Unity bloc, isolate the government from the masses, breed differences between the Socialists and Communists, between the Marxist parties and other parties, between the working people and the armed forces. This is the essence and objective of reaction's tactics, which the Party exposes. Moreover, we do not for one moment relax our fight against petty-bourgeois revolutionism to prevent it from striking root among the masses, nor our effort to educate the masses according to the revolutionary traditions of the world Communist movement. This accounts for the two main lines of our ideological struggle, in which the Popular Unity bloc is gaining strength and maturity.



Cyprus sovereignty and its foes

Ezekias Papaioannou

Cyprus is still in the throes of a serious political crisis, which, despite its relative abatement, continues to exist and hinder the renewal of intercommunal talks on a peaceful, democratic solution of existing differences between Cypriot Greeks and Turks. Creators of this crisis are none other than the NATO imperialist circles. They are the inspirers and planners of the new enslavement plans against Cyprus.

A continuation and meer reshaping of the well-known partionist plans of Ball, Acheson, Lemnitzer and Cyrus Vance, the Lisbon plan which was fully elaborated and approved by the NATO Foreign Ministers in Brussels at the end of 1971, provides for the turning of Cyprus into a Greco-Turkish protectorate under NATO and more especially under American imperialist overlordship. In the event of this plan proving unrealizable there exists the alternative solution of double Enosis, i.e., partition of Cyprus between Greece and Turkey, again under the overlordship of the same imperialist factor. In both cases British imperialists will retain their sovereign military bases on the island which will be re-inforced by bases of NATO.

This is part of a greater NATO-ist strategic plan which aims at the creation of a buffer between the socialist countries on the one hand, and the Arab countries on the other, and which will be composed of Greece, Turkey, Cyprus and Israel. The real incentive to this strategy is the 'black gold' of the Middle East, petrol. Cyprus is destined to play an important role as a war bridgehead and air-missile base. And this makes Cyprus a center of imperialist intrigues not only against the Cypriot people, but also against the Arab peoples and the peoples of the socialist countries. Apart from the British sovereign base areas which occupy 99 square miles, British radar stations are functioning all over Cyprus. Three American radio receiving stations are also functioning, and they are all spying on the Arab and socialist countries.

The leading NATO circles have entrusted to the governments of Turkey and Greece as 'guarantor' powers by virtue of the Zurich

agreement* to impose on Cyprus the solution reached at Lisbon. The imperialist brains that conceived this plan thought that in this way they not only secure Cyprus for their perfidious aims but also succeed in forging harmonious cooperation and cohesion of the South Eastern wing of NATO, which is based on Greece and Turkey. They will thus score double with one shot.

However, to impose this imperialist-inspired plan on the Cypriot people certain obstacles had first to be removed. Relying on home reaction, they set out to undermine the Patriotic Front of Resistance and crush the Left forces, notably the AKEL Party. To do so, they planned to act in three directions: split the forces of the Cypriot people, promote civil strife and divide Cypriot Greeks into super-Greeks and anti-Greeks; to brandish the Communist bogey and build up anti-communism (arms had to be discovered at all costs in the hands of the Communists); to make President Makarios, elected by the vote of 97 per cent of the people and symbol of patriotic unity resistance, the target of all kinds of attacks and compel him to bow obediently and blindly to the 'national center' of Athens or be overthrown and brushed aside.

And when everything was ready for the re-commencement of the intercommunal talks based on the formula of the UN Secretary General,** the well known crisis was created. The reactionary circles of anomaly and division planned and put in motion the mechanism for the violent overthrow of President Makarios and his government. After the 12 years that Archbishop Makarios has occupied the elected post of President of the Republic the theory of this post being incompatible with his functions as Archbishop had to be invented and pressures exercised for his deposition from his post as president. The attack on President Makarios and his government followed the pretext that Czechoslovak-made arms were imported for the security of Cyprus. By the notorious ultimatum of the Greek military government of February 11 addressed to the President of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, the Athens dictatorial regime actually demanded that Cyprus and her government be fully subordinated to decisions taken in Athens. Then the putschists tried to materialize their plans. What compelled them to have second thoughts, what saved Cyprus from certain civil strife and bloodshed, was the speedy mobilization of the people and the decisive measures taken by the government. The militant mass mobilization of the people and the students and more especially the great mass rally of some 150,000 people on March 3 demonstrated the unity and determination of the Cypriot people to raise an impregnable wall around their elected President and not to allow the imposition of imperialist solutions on Cyprus. And when the putschists realized that the road to power would not be a simple walk but that they would meet with the determined

*The London-approved Zurich agreement (Feb. 1959) envisages limited independence, with Greece, Turkey and Britain allowed to interfere, not short of militarily, in Cyprus' internal affairs; Britain retains extra-territorial rights in the military base areas.

**Negotiations between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities in the presence of representatives of the Greek and Turkish governments with consultative functions, and a UN observer.

resistance of the people, they had to change their mind and looked like the well-known popular saying of the fox with the grapes.

During the days when the crisis was at its height something else happened. In the socialist countries and in other countries of the world, in Asia and Africa, a wave of popular protest had arisen against what was being done by NATO at the expense of Cyprus. The policy of the military government of Athens against Cyprus was condemned and international solidarity and support for President Makarios and Cyprus were demonstrated. Especially moving was the support of the brother people of Greece and their representatives, who, despite the dictatorial regime they are compelled to live under, found the strength to show their solidarity towards the Cypriot people and their President. The Cypriot people know that the present regime in Athens was imposed upon the Greek people by force of arms and the people of Cyprus wholeheartedly support the struggle of the brother Greek people for the rehabilitation of democracy in Greece.

The Soviet Union which at every critical stage of the Cyprus problem has been the unselfish champion and supporter of the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Cyprus, warned in no uncertain manner that she cannot and will not remain indifferent to foreign threats of invading Cyprus. And all the would-be putschists know very well that the Soviet Union is not in the habit of throwing words to the wind and that she has the power and the means to provide decisive support for Cyprus.

The Cypriot people and the party of the Cypriot working class, AKEL, are deeply grateful to the Soviet Union and all other friendly countries that supported Cyprus and stood by the Cypriot people and their President in the most critical hours of their history.

The first round against the imperialist-inspired putschists has been won by the Cypriot people and their President. This does not mean, however, that the crisis is over and everything is moving towards normalization and a peaceful, democratic solution of the problem of Cyprus. A relative easing of the situation has been noted as compared with the tension of February-March this year, but the situation is far from being normal. The creators of the crisis have not given up their plans. They suffered a defeat but they are regrouping for a fresh round.

This conclusion follows from recent statements by representatives of the Greek and Turkish governments insisting on their right to intervene in the internal affairs of Cyprus and, in fact, impose a Greco-Turkish condominium. Denktas, the leader of Turkish Cypriots and a puppet of Ankara, has demanded the abolition of Cyprus independence in favor of a Greco-Turkish protectorate. Denktas, in fact, agrees with the ultimatum of the Greek government to President Makarios.

However, Denktas does not express the views of Turkish Cypriots, but only those of the imperialist circles of conspiracy against Cyprus.

The Turkish government has officially informed the General Secretary of the United Nations that agreement should be reached on a number of points before the new round of talks is resumed.

The conditions laid down by the Turkish Government take us back, in effect, to the Zurich agreement, limit sovereignty and violate the integrity of the territory and people of Cyprus, and therefore undermine the chances of fruitful intercommunal talks. Moreover, one of the conditions says that the talks should be of merely an exploratory character, thereby denying Cypriot competence in resolving the issues. At the same time, the Greek military government insists that her conditions be accepted by Makarios before the new Greek Ambassador arrives in Nicosia. This shows that there exists an understanding between the Greek and Turkish governments to continue concerted pressures on the Cyprus government.

Internally, the fascist elements, sensing support from abroad, continue their provocative subversive activities, seeking to exploit everything to promote the imperialist plans. Their campaign of national hatred and anti-communism is reaching new heights. Attacks have been made on party and trade union premises, and forged documents are used to 'prove' that armed groups are being organized by AKEL and the Left. But when challenged to provide one single item of evidence to back their contentions, they fail to do so.

AKEL has repeatedly declared that not only does it not possess any arms or armed groups but that it considers all illegal arms and groupings a menace to Cyprus and its cause. AKEL consistently supports President Makarios and the state armed forces and is firmly opposed to illegal armed groupings of any kind.

Patriotic vigilance and readiness to mobilize the people is essential. It is imperative that firm measures be taken by the state to disarm and punish the circles of anomaly and putschism. It is imperative that all forms of illegality and armed gangsterism be crushed. The state and the legal government of Cyprus elected by the people must be respected by all, at home and abroad.

The question as to who decides for Cyprus is not and cannot be a debatable point. The sovereign Cypriot people decide. The people of Cyprus have and should have the first and last word. Cyprus is not anybody's puppet. She is an independent, sovereign state, an equal member of the United Nations Organization, and will not accept a condominium, or protectorate, or any other regime that would turn Cypriots into second-rate people. The Cypriot people are determined to fight for independence at whatever cost.

During the recent political crisis certain questions were raised in the press and in reactionary circles. One of these concerned relations between Greece and Cyprus. The ultimatum of the Athens dictatorial regime to President Makarios was a gross intervention in Cyprus affairs, a violation of her sovereignty, and, in effect, a call on other countries to follow this scandalous example.

Relations between Athens and Nicosia cannot be those of

superior towards inferior, or of employer towards employee, but must be relations of mutual respect. The Cypriot people support equal relations based on mutual respect and understanding; Cyprus decides for Cyprus and Greece decides for Greece.

Another question raised at the height of the crisis was the question of which camp Cyprus belongs to. Certain reactionary circles developed the theory that since Greece and Turkey belong to NATO, Cyprus must also belong to this military alliance. Again we see an attempt from outside to impose on Cyprus membership in a military alliance as if she was a colony. NATO is the most implacable enemy of Cyprus and the Cypriot people. What place can Cyprus have in such an alliance? It would be like a lamb entering a den of wolves.

Ever since Cyprus was declared an independent state in 1960 she has belonged to the family of non-aligned states. The foreign policy of Cyprus has won for her a place of esteem in the family of the United Nations. Her voice is respected, because though it comes from a small country, it is not dictated by foreign powers. Cyprus is a country fighting to liberate herself from all vestiges of imperialism and for complete independence. She belongs to the anti-imperialist camp, the camp of newly-independent states that do not want to fall prey to NATO imperialist designs.

Only by further developing her relations with the peace-loving countries will Cyprus serve the genuine interests of the people and the anti-imperialist cause. Cyprus must develop friendly relations with the socialist countries that stand consistently by her side. This would immensely strengthen the position of Cyprus and promote the interests of her liberation struggle.

The salvation of Cyprus lies in a really independent, sovereign, integral, non-aligned, democratic and demilitarized state. This is not easy to achieve. There are many and serious obstacles to be overcome, but it is a realizable goal consonant with the best interests of the Cypriot people, Greeks and Turks. It is a goal supported by the socialist and non-aligned countries and the overwhelming majority of UN members.

The liberation struggle of the Cypriot people is part and parcel of the liberation struggle of the peoples of the Middle East fighting against imperialism, for independence, democracy and social advance. It merges with the struggle of the Mediterranean peoples for a nuclear-free zone, for peace and security in Europe.

The Cypriot people and their elected President remain firm in their determination to fight unitedly against all imperialist conspiratorial plans and gain a peaceful democratic solution for their problem. And with the solidarity and support of friendly countries, Cyprus will emerge victorious from this hard and complicated struggle.

Imperialist strategy and African resistance

Anton Lerumo

Developments in the past few months provide a clearer insight into the strategy of Britain, the U.S. and other imperialist powers in Southern Africa. The aim is to create and consolidate a bloc of Portuguese colonies and states dominated by colonialism and local white minorities extending across the entire continent from Angola in the West, through Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) in the center to Mozambique in the East. The entire structure is to be fortified by the economic and military strength of the fascist Republic of South Africa, which would then openly be integrated in the military system of NATO. It is clear that this sinister plan, designed to perpetuate and speed up the rapacious exploitation and looting of African human and material resources, poses a most serious threat to the security and independence not only of Zambia and other neighboring African states, but ultimately of the entire continent.

The imperialist designs, however, have met with a number of serious reverses: the oppressed and seemingly intimidated masses of indigenous people have struck back in a number of courageous and massive acts of resistance.

Zimbabwe says NO!

Following the decision of the U.S. Congress to breach UN-imposed sanctions by buying chromium ore from Rhodesia the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, flew to Salisbury to negotiate with the rebel leader, Ian Smith.

The terms of this agreement between these two white gentlemen concerning the future of more than five million Africans must be reckoned among the most disgraceful in the long disreputable history of British imperialism – compellingly recalling the infamous Munich agreement of thirty-five years ago, in which the same Tory gentlemen (then known as Lord Home) played an important part. The agreement provides for British recognition of Rhodesian independence in return for certain modifications in the present racist constitution. These modifications are presented as concessions to the 'five principles' (notably, eventual African majority rule) which the Tory government pretends to uphold. In fact the 'concessions' are disdainful, and power will be retained indefinitely in the hands of the quarter-million white settlers (mostly fairly recent arrivals) who at present dominate the parliament, judiciary, army and civil service. They own half the land (and by far the best land at that)

in the territory and monopolize educational and economic opportunities on the familiar apartheid pattern.

There are two voters' rolls, one for blacks and one for whites. At present white voters far outnumber Africans; the Smith-Home Agreement pretends to envisage that as Africans gradually achieve the educational and property qualifications required to vote they will eventually achieve 'parity' with the whites. The most favorable estimate of when this would happen places it at about sixty years ahead; other estimates range from 'a hundred years' to 'never.'

In order to win some measure of respectability for this infamous sell-out in the eyes of African, British and world opinion, Home and Smith agreed that a Commission should visit Rhodesia to enquire whether the proposals were 'acceptable to all sections of the public.' Accordingly the Pearce Commission, consisting almost exclusively of former colonial officials, was sent to tour the country. The conspirators no doubt hoped and believed that under present conditions in Zimbabwe it would be possible to muster at least some show of support among sections of the Africans, perhaps in some remote rural areas. After all the country has been under a 'state of emergency' – that is, of terror – for more than five years. Patriotic national movements have been outlawed and their leaders held in prisons and concentration camps. It was imagined that the Africans would be too intimidated and disorganized to express solid rejection of the deal.

The Pearce Commission turned out to be a complete fiasco. Wherever it sat, particularly in the larger towns, huge demonstrations were held against the proposed Home-Smith deal. Organized almost overnight, especially for the purpose of opposing the deal, the newly-formed African National Council represented nearly all the main African political currents within the country on a basis of complete unity. It sent its emissaries to town and country.

Further political arrests, including that of the respected Mr. and Mrs. Chinamano, and of former Premier Garfield Todd and his daughter Judy, were made even during the course of the Pearce enquiry; the sessions of the enquiry were prominently attended by policemen in force; and the Commissioners did not restrict themselves to questions but actively debated with the Africans, seeking to persuade them that the Smith-Home deal was 'better than nothing.'

The effects were dramatic. Even in small isolated rural areas, which the Smith regime had confidently expected would submit to its blackmail, the people unanimously and positively showed their opposition. Newspaper readers and television viewers in Britain and all over the world have seen dramatic pictures of these gatherings of rural people in which the peasants showed their feelings by carrying big homemade posters, the words often misspelt, but always and everywhere the one word predominated in large letters: 'NO!'

In the circumstances, even the Pearce Commission was compelled to admit that the terms of the British-Rhodesian agreement are not

acceptable to Africans, who are convinced, as the Pearce report says, that the present rulers intend to perpetuate white rule in the country.

Tremendous credit must go to the African people of Zimbabwe for their courageous and united opposition. They have shown once again the lesson: the fate of Africa will in the end be decided by the African masses themselves, and by nobody else.

The continuing struggle of the Namibian people

The former German colony of Southwest Africa was taken over as a League of Nations mandate and placed in 1920 under the trusteeship of the then Union of South Africa. Ever since then the peoples of Namibia have protested against South Africa's methods of 'trusteeship,' which amount in practice to an outright annexation of the country by the Pretoria regime and the imposition of all its harsh laws and practices of apartheid.

In 1970 the Security Council of the United Nations resolved that the continued administration and government of Namibia by the Republic was in fact illegal and called upon the Republic to allow its inhabitants to exercise their right of self-determination under UN supervision. The South African government, naturally, refused to comply with this decision. Accordingly the Security Council appealed to the International Court of Justice, which gave the following ruling: '1. That the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia being illegal, South Africa is under obligation to withdraw its administration from Namibia immediately and thus put an end to its occupation of the territory. 2. That states which are members of the United Nations are under obligation to recognize the illegality of South Africa's presence in Namibia and the invalidity of its acts on behalf of or concerning Namibia, and to refrain from any acts and, in particular, in dealing with the government of South Africa, implying recognition of the legality of, or lending support or assistance to, such acts and administration. 3. That it is incumbent upon states which are not members of the United Nations to give assistance . . . in the action which has been taken by the United Nations with regard to Namibia.'

It is perfectly clear from the court's ruling that the Security Council of the United Nations has the authority, as it obviously has the power, to enforce South Africa's complying with the decision of the Security Council by all means, including the use of force. It is also clear that the Security Council does not take such action only because of the obstructive actions and intentions of certain of its members, notably the United Kingdom and the United States.

Namibia, especially since the end of the Second World War, has proved a veritable treasure house of diamonds and other valuable minerals, which have been rapaciously exploited, to no benefit for the indigenous Namibian people, but to the enormous profit of British, United States, West German, South African and other monopoly capitalist interests. The main production in the mineral

field is diamonds, in which a predominant and controlling interest is held by the notorious De Beers monopoly, owning Consolidated Diamond Mines. Its net annual profit in recent years has averaged Rand* 50 million. In the field of base metal production two United States monopolies, American Metal Climax and Newmont Mining Corporation hold the controlling interest in the Tsumeb Corporation. Tsumeb's profits in 1967 were over Rand 19 million. In addition to heavy South African investments, the British Rio Tinto Zinc and the West German Deutsche Urangesellschaft will cooperate in the exploitation of the large uranium resources near Swakopmund.

Another colonialist project is the Kunene river scheme. This gigantic R200 million hydro-electric project, evolved jointly by Portugal and South Africa, is designed to provide electricity and irrigation for the settlement of hundreds of thousands of white Portuguese and South African settlers. Backed by international finance capital, this scheme, like the Cabora Bassa scheme in Mozambique, has political as well as economic aims. It is designed to reinforce the bastions of imperialism in Southern Africa by the massive importation of white settlers.

Addressing the Security Council in September 1971, South Africa's Foreign Minister, Dr. Hilgard Muller, said: 'Here we have to deal with allegations that the inhabitants are in a state of constant economic servitude, even that they are reduced to starvation. Facts and figures give the lie to these allegations. The economic life of the territory continues to prosper – and at a gratifying rate. For this, the credit is in large measure due to the efforts of the South African government.'

The bright light of truth has been cast on these blatant lies of Dr. Muller by the great general strike in Namibia at the close of 1971 and in early 1972. It has exposed the degrading and inhuman system of labor, recruitment and employment applied by the South African authorities in Namibia. The strike, which began in Namibia on December 13, 1971, brought the economy of the territory almost to a complete standstill. The workers struck against the starvation wages which they were paid and the semi-slave conditions of contract labor under which they were recruited and had to work.

Nearly all the recruiting of African labor has been done by 'SWANLA' (South West African Native Labor Association) which, despite its strange name, is a body owned and controlled by the South African administration and the diamond mines and farmers and other big employers of African labor. SWANLA estimates the total labor requirements for the period ahead, and then sends its recruiting agents into the African reserves. A resident of Ovambo-land (the Vambos who form more than half of the indigenous African population are the biggest suppliers of African labor) gave this evidence to United Nations representatives:

'If a reserve does not supply enough labor it is looked upon as a bad reserve. A message comes from the Commissioner to the welfare officer. The welfare officer calls the headmen and reserve

*The Rand=\$1.40.

board members. The welfare officer reads the letter to the board members and tells them that they want a certain number of work laborers to work on the farms, or on the roads, and this number must be supplied.'

Once a laborer is thus 'recruited,' or to be more exact conscripted, he has to work a term of 12-18 months for a white employer at a distant place which he has never been to or seen before. He is not allowed to take his wife or family with him. In other words, it is a prison-like system of enforced labor.

Some idea of the wages paid to Africans may be gained from a study of the wage scale laid down by SWANLA. An experienced worker returning to his previous employer gets R8 a month. An inexperienced, or juvenile worker may get as little as R3.75 a month. An African mine worker gets from R6 to R8 a month. A white worker gets from R375 a month to R435 a month. During the strike, white schoolchildren were recruited as scabs. They were paid R109 a month.

It is true that the employers are supposed to provide the workers with accommodation. This accommodation consists of housing in cramped prison-like 'compounds.' A typical example is the 'new township' at Katatura, near Windhoek (the capital). Riots against vile conditions and police terror at Katatura, in the Ovambo compound, broke out last year in June and again in November. Hundreds of workers were arrested after these riots. African workers, particularly the Ovambos, deserted their jobs and went back to Ovamboland en masse in the months of December, January and February.

One of the main reasons for the exceptionally high rate of profits on investments in Namibia is the ruthless apartheid system of contract and other forms of forced labor employed by the South African administration of Namibia, which mean that workers in Namibia work harder, and for less wages, than almost anywhere else on the continent. It is clearly in the interests of those powerful monopoly capitalist groups, which exercise such enormous influence on their governments, to perpetuate and retain South Africa's administration of Namibia. That is why these governments, ever since the foundation of the United Nations, have consistently defended South African domination whenever the Namibian issue came up for discussion.

By their strike action, the Namibian workers again brought to the forefront the whole issue of Namibia's status and the conditions of its people. They have completely destroyed the foundation of South Africa's pretensions to be working for the betterment of the territory. Namibia's just demands are supported by the vast majority of UN member states and by progressives the world over.

In fighting for their own independence and self-determination, the workers and peasants of Namibia are also waging a battle for the freedom of the whole of Southern Africa. By their courageous actions they have struck a powerful blow against the evil anti-African plots of imperialism.

The neo-nazi Voerster government in Pretoria has reacted to the Namibian resistance with its usual policy of brute force and repression. In February emergency regulations were promulgated banning all public meetings. Any person can be detained in solitary confinement without trial. It is declared a crime to do or say anything likely to 'subvert the authority of the state.' More troops and armed police are continuously being sent into Ovamboland and a virtual state of war now exists between the Namibian masses and the South African government. There are already reports of a qualitatively new situation: the Ovambo strikers are linking up their forces with the guerrillas of Angola under the leadership of MPLA in a common and joint attack against the South African and Portuguese oppressors.

The dramatic events in Zimbabwe and Namibia are naturally having their repercussions in the main bastion of imperialism in Southern Africa, the Republic of South Africa.

Throughout 1971 there has been increasing evidence of mounting disturbance and upsurge amongst broad sections of the population, especially the most oppressed section, the Africans. Even within such legally permitted and approved bodies as the state-appointed 'legislatures' of the 'Bantustans' individual leaders, reacting to intensive mass pressure from below, have been speaking out with increasing boldness, demanding not only more land, greater autonomy and other reforms within the apartheid system, but even a fundamental review of the racialist structure of society. The militancy and revolutionary spirit of African workers, peasants, students and others, of the colored and Indian minorities are mounting. This spirit is a splendid tribute to the intrepid comrades of the underground units of the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party.

The government's attempts to meet this opposition by its usual tactics of mass terror and intimidation are no longer effective in restraining the masses. More, they are causing increasing disquiet even amongst those bourgeois circles who hitherto have remained silent in the face of fascist methods, on the pretext that they should not impede the government in fighting 'communism.' At the end of last year when a series of savage police raids culminated in the deliberate murder by the security forces of Ahmed Timol,* who was hurled to his death from an upper story in the police headquarters in Johannesburg, a massive protest spread throughout the country involving broad sections of the population. Protests and demands for a public inquiry into the circumstances of the death of Timol and the entire procedures of the security forces embraced not only oppressed people but also sections of white religious and liberal opinion and of the English-speaking bourgeoisie.** All the signs of an imminent major crisis are present in South Africa embracing all classes and extending even into the ranks of the ruling neo-nazi Nationalist Party.

*Schoolteacher, active anti-apartheid fighter.

**Its position on racial and a number of other issues differs from that of the top Afrikaner element, which makes up the majority for the white population.

Thus the tempo of struggle and resistance is mounting higher and higher within each of the areas which constitute the 'unliberated South' of Africa. The strike of the Namibians, the defiance of the Zimbabweans, the many-sided revolt of the South Africans, all merging with a rising tide of guerrilla fighting in each of the Portuguese colonies, spreading into Namibia, Zimbabwe and the Republic itself – each of these actions sustains the others and inspires yet further revolutionary spirit.

The solidarity of all working-class, national liberation and democratic forces of the world is urgently required and deeply appreciated by the enslaved Africans of the South.

But the inescapable duty and responsibility of liberating these enslaved countries rests ultimately upon their own peoples. The latest developments prove that our peoples are fully capable and ready to assume this responsibility.

Decolonization of culture in Africa

Enri Onan

In its Marxist application to developing countries, the concept of non-capitalist path based on Lenin's ideas has been the subject of much theoretical study. Less studied, however, are its practical aspects, the concrete economic, and more especially social and ideological, processes at work in these countries. And yet such a study is necessary to reveal how the general regularities of non-capitalist development hew a way for themselves in the specific conditions of former colonial and semi-colonial countries and the role they play in accumulating the preconditions for socialist construction. Of particular interest in this respect are the methods used in several socialist-oriented African countries to foster a new consciousness.

Backward social relations can be restructured along non-capitalist lines only if the revolutionary-democratic government firmly relies on the working people and promotes their active participation in economic and political life. 'Where it is a question of a complete transformation of the social system,' Engels emphasizes in his Introduction to 'Class Struggles in France,' 'the masses themselves must also be in it, must themselves already have grasped what is at stake.'

In non-capitalist oriented African countries this entails solving highly complex problems, viz., raising cultural standards, eliminating the spiritual legacy of colonialism, cultivating progressive

political consciousness, combating the infiltration and diffusion of reactionary bourgeois ideology. In short, it entails – as African leaders have stressed – a veritable cultural revolution, compressed, moreover, into a short span of history.

The complexities

Lenin repeatedly noted that the work of education and cultural development is one of the most complicated functions of the revolutionary state. And in Africa it is further complicated by the fact that the emergence of states (a process not yet completed) precedes the consolidation of nations. The new states are made up of tribes and nationalities the colonialists had deliberately kept at loggerheads. They are at varying levels of social development and involvement in the socio-economic, political and cultural life of their countries. Hence, the need to foster a feeling of national unity and combat tribal, regional and micronational isolation.

'We must forget about tribal, ethnic and religious contradictions which caused our country so much evil in the recent past,' President Sekou Toure of Guinea declared in appealing for a resolute struggle against sections of the nation thriving on the exploitation of workers and peasants. Another African leader, Siad Barre, Chairman of the Somalia Supreme Revolutionary Council, declared during last year's anti-tribal campaign, that the task is to extirpate tribalism despite all the obstacles erected by reaction and neo-colonialism.

National consolidation implies gradual elimination of the aftermaths of the colonialists' linguistic genocide. The gap between the official and popular languages seriously hampers education and other ideological activity. The problem is further complicated by the fact that choice of any one language comes up against tribal rivalry, adversely affects the political and socio-economic development of ethnic groups and might accentuate rather than diminish tribalistic tendencies. This explains why so far only a few countries have adopted an African language as the official one. In Tanzania this is Swahili,* one of the few 'tribalistically neutral' written languages with a rich national literature. Guinea introduced instruction in eight languages in order to select the main ones. In 1968 two were selected, Susu and Malinke; these will be taught throughout the country and only persons with proper knowledge of one of these languages will be eligible for government and Party posts.

Decolonizing culture requires thorough reorganization of public education. President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania rightly noted that in the past the purpose of all education was to instil the colonialist outlook and train people to serve the colonial state.

A year after independence Guinea shifted to a new educational system. Its purpose is to train children in accordance with Party policy so that the school would produce people fully conscious of the tasks facing the country and prepared to cope with them. That

*Swahili, the *lingua franca* of some 30-40 million people in East Africa.

too is the underlying idea of Tanzania's 1971 decision to reorganize education in line with the Arusha Declaration.* The accent is on ideological education, revival of national culture and improvement of vocational training.

'The problem before us today,' Siad Barre says, 'is to train workers, men and women capable of sharing in our constructive effort to transform the country. Even the battle against illiteracy is not an aim in itself: we want to help the people acquire consciousness. . . .'

Educational reorganization is, of course, a long process. It took Algeria several years to draw up and introduce its university reform, and there is still much to be done. The People's Republic of the Congo has for some time been working on an acceptable pattern for its schools. On the whole, such problems as training teachers, preventing school dropouts, finding jobs for school-leavers, have yet to be solved. Furthermore, a large part of the child population does not attend school.

Much is being done to wipe out adult illiteracy through short-term and long-term nationwide and local campaigns, specialized institutions such as the National Service (People's Republic of the Congo), Revolutionary Training Centers (Guinea), National Center (Algeria). And liquidation of illiteracy is everywhere considered an essential condition for ideological and political education. A short while ago UNESCO awarded Zambia the Krupskaya Prize for its success in combating illiteracy.

But there is still a vast amount of work ahead. In one of its 1971 congress resolutions, the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) set 1975 as the end-of-illiteracy year. A Herculean task, considering that 75 per cent of the population is illiterate. And this figure for Egypt, after nearly 20 years of efforts to abolish illiteracy: 72 per cent illiterate among the male population and an even higher figure among women. Commenting on this, *Al Gumhuria* suggest a close study of the experience of socialist countries.

Overcoming the 'cultural inferiority complex,' revival of national art and literature – these essential aspects of any cultural revolution – can sometimes lead to extremes, to attempts to absolutize the 'otherness' of African history and culture, exaggerate the traits of the 'African personality' and 'African values.' Such tendencies are sometimes manifested by African revolutionary democrat leaders. Commenting on their scientific fallacy at the 24th Congress of the CPSU, a representative of the Congo Party of Labor emphasized that the Party and people reject such concepts because their obvious purpose is to isolate the Africans from the rest of the world. 'We have no right,' he said, 'to use African exclusiveness as a pretext for rejecting the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism.'

Methods of education

The non-capitalist oriented countries have in the short period since independence devised a variety of forms and methods to give the

*Adopted in 1967, it provides for the socialist reconstruction of Tanzania.

people an effective share in socio-economic transformations and political campaigns. In Guinea, for instance, decrees and laws are approved only after close discussion by local branches of the Party and its National Bureau. Economic development plans are examined by the National Confederation of Working People. Last year (to cite another example) mass meetings were held by 8,000 local revolutionary committees, 30 regional Party committees and numerous trade union, youth and women's organizations, and army units as part of the nationwide campaign to expose the aims of the Portuguese aggression.

In Tanzania, study groups were started in industry and government organizations to explain and popularize TANU's general line adopted in February 1971. This was followed in March by a nationwide discussion of the annual economic development plan prior to its approval by the Party's Executive and the National Assembly. TANU believes that a higher level of political understanding is essential to operation of the Arusha Declaration. The Guidelines published by the Party Executive urge every citizen to understand 'the importance of safeguarding the security and lives of the people, our policies, our independence, our economy and our culture.'

Political education of the proletariat, which is receiving much attention, often takes the form of Party leaders addressing workers' meetings, educational and political seminars, etc. In 1970 such seminars were conducted in Tanzania by special instructors and attended by about 57,000 workers. Another innovation in 1970 was workers' councils at state-run enterprises as a means of giving the workers a bigger share in management and raising their political understanding. And still another innovation: workers' study groups organized by the National Union of Working People. In Somalia, a member of the Supreme Revolutionary Council, Mussa Rabile, says the task is to help the working class realize that upon it depends the success of continued democratic change.

Understandably, ideological work is much more difficult among the peasant population. The 'ujamaa' villages in Tanzania, conceived as socialist communities, are primarily designed to play a political role: revive and support the spirit of collectivism and cooperation as a counterweight to the growth of capitalist relations in agriculture. The idea is to give the peasant a proper understanding of the country's goals. This is done through periodical national campaigns (the July 1971 campaign was directed by President Nyerere) conducted by specially trained officials and agronomists. A resolution of the September 1971 Party congress calls for seminars in all 'ujamaa' villages to explain TANU policy. In the People's Republic of the Congo this work is done by rural activists and the Rural Renewal Service which, besides propagating more efficient cultivation methods, seeks to instil a 'spirit of solidarity that will prevail over individualism' as a means of fashioning the new mentality.

The non-capitalist oriented states reject the bourgeois theory of

a neutral officialdom. Our conception, wrote the Tanzanian journal *Contact*, is incompatible with the theory of a non-partisan government service. The political views held by government employees are bound to reflect on their work. Civil service schools have courses in the history of colonization and decolonization, political ideas and social institutions. Civil servants are obliged to attend ideological seminars. The Somali government has made it obligatory for all civil servants to go through a 'political orientation' course in order to have a better understanding of the aims and methods of the revolution.

These and similar measures to educate and re-educate government personnel meet with serious resistance, for the civil service is looked upon as merely a lucrative career, and that is encouraged by members of the old colonial administration still employed in many African states and by the local élite, with its ingrained bourgeois ideas.

Special attention is being paid to the ideological training of the armed forces. In the People's Republic of the Congo, the Party Central Committee Plenum in March 1966 declared that the army must be under the Party's ideological supervision. Accordingly, a 1969 government decree on the National Army states that its mission is to help accomplish the political tasks of the revolution. A political officer has been appointed to the high command with responsibility for ideological training and links between the army and the Party.

In Tanzania, ideological work in the army is conducted by political commissars. Addressing their seminar in January 1970, President Nyerere emphasized that the establishment of a new army capable of safeguarding the country's social gains necessitates abolition of the colonial mentality.

In Guinea, the Party leadership has made ideological training of the army a priority concern. In April 1971, President Toure stated that henceforth political work in the army would be conducted by specially trained Party functionaries.

The ruling parties in progressive Africa rely on the main social strata and groups in their ideological work, the aim being to assure support for their policies.

Countering neo-colonialist expansion

'The younger the socialist movement in any given country,' Lenin wrote, 'the more vigorously it must struggle against all attempts to entrench non-socialist ideology' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 5, p. 386).

Dependence on the world capitalist market, the strong influence still exerted by the imperialist powers on education and on the intelligentsia, inadequate means of counter-propaganda and other objective factors make the fight against bourgeois ideology extremely difficult. That ideology infiltrates through numerous channels, carrying a veritable deluge of misinformation, slander of the socialist lands and of the progressive African states pursuing inde-

pendent policies. During the 1971 Singapore Commonwealth Conference the British government tried to justify its deal with the South African racists by alleging that there was a Soviet menace to the shipping routes around the Cape of Good Hope. There were also manufactured rumors about Tanzania planning to allow Soviet military bases on its territory, a coup d'état in Zambia, etc.

Imperialism is making every effort to control African thinking. It has set up a ramified network of information centers, libraries and radio stations covering the entire continent. Western firms are buying up African newspapers in an attempt to monopolize the press and other information media. Western films are being shown in practically all African cinemas. Bourgeois ideology penetrates also through the army of specialists, teachers, church missions, etc.

The young states have no choice but to employ foreign experts, for they are not yet in a position to cope with the many problems of cultural development. They lack the prerequisites for scientific research and the use of its findings; they are not yet able to train sufficient skilled personnel or find jobs for those who are trained. Sending young people to study in capitalist countries is not always an asset: about 70 per cent never return. The vacuum resulting from this brain drain is filled partly by members of the American Peace Corps and its European counterparts, who bring with them bourgeois ideas. For that matter, some of the young people returning after studies in capitalist countries bring back not only technical know-how, but also elements of bourgeois ideology. So-called domestic neo-colonialism – the personnel of foreign firms, wholesale traders, big contractors and similar groups that batten on the superprofits of the monopolies and speculation – provide a receptive soil for bourgeois ideology.

'The revolution cannot suit all social strata,' the Guinean *Horoya* wrote, 'for it leads to social transformations which inevitably affect the privileges and interests of definite groups.' The reactionary elements are dead set against progressive reforms. They resort to sabotage and subversion, often enough with the help, or on the initiative, of foreign intelligence services.

Non-capitalist oriented countries often find that they cannot effectively counter bourgeois propaganda. This is due to a number of objective factors – inadequate mass information media, dependent, moreover, on foreign sources; dearth of trained ideological cadres, their low theoretical level, etc. In pursuance of their sovereign right to protect society against imperialist ideological subversion they have to resort to administrative and legal measures.

Thus, in 1964, the People's Republic of the Congo issued a decree prohibiting the spread of rumors likely to 'disturb public tranquility, damage national interests and undermine national morale.' The government information study and coordination service set up in early 1970 collects, selects and transmits to the ideological agencies all incoming information. To prevent vilification of the state, foreign journalists must get their information from the Congolese News Agency, radio, television and Foreign Ministry.

The Zambian government has banned Rhodesian newspapers and BBC newscasts, with their whitewash of the Rhodesian racist regime. The Central Committee of the Arab Socialist Union has decided to set up facilities for round-the-clock information to keep the people informed on the Middle East situation. The *Al-Akhbar* newspaper says this is one means of neutralizing Israel's psychological war.

Wherever possible progressive governments try to nationalize the cinema and the book trade and block other channels through which bourgeois ideology penetrates. Guinea censors all foreign films; the People's Republic of the Congo has banned gambling, and Somalia has imposed censorship on all films, printed matter and theatrical performances.

In this way, the ruling parties are blocking imperialist ideological infiltration, diminishing the influence of neo-colonialism and domestic reaction and gradually taking over the commanding positions in all spheres of culture. Social progress in the young democratic countries depends largely on the growth of their ideological influence.

The concrete experience in decolonizing culture in Africa suggests that the process is by no means a smooth one and the results are not always those expected. There are still many formidable difficulties. Progressive African leaders have their own ideas about how to instil socialist consciousness and it cannot be said that they always follow Lenin's advice. But the very nature of the problems they have to cope with is such that, notwithstanding all the specifics of African reality, the basic propositions of the theory of cultural revolution formulated by the Communist parties to meet the requirements of building socialism, are fully applicable here too. And these propositions are: elimination of illiteracy, that barrier to bringing the masses into political activity; promotion of a national culture socialist in content; assimilation of all that is best in world culture; internationalism. Consistent application of these principles will enable socialist-oriented countries successfully to advance along their chosen path.



Social-Democrats' 'Alternative'

Notes on SPA Congress

Georgi Shakhnazarov

'Crossing mountains'

'We have crossed the mountains, and shall also cross the plains ahead.' Federal Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, Chairman of the Socialist Party of Austria, used this quotation from Bertolt Brecht to describe the task of his party's Congress.

We are not going to describe the convention, held in the health resort of Villach. We shall just attempt to assay the ideological program of the contemporary Social-Democratic movement on the basis of what we saw and heard at the Austrian Congress, so as the better to understand the objectives of the movement. And there is good reason to tie up this subject with the SPA Congress. It is in Austria that the trend of social thought known as Social-Democratic in the present-day sense of the term has developed most fully. And it is in that country that the well-known theoreticians of Right-wing opportunism, Karl Renner, Otto Bauer and Max Adler, campaigned under the banner of 'Austro-Marxism.'

However, everything changes, and centers of political thought shift from one country to another. Does this mean that Austria is no longer the Social-Democratic Mecca? SPA leaders do not think so. The SPA role in the movement is evidenced, among other things, by the fact that two of the party's leaders, Bruno Pittermann and Hans Janitschek, hold the top posts in the Socialist International, those of Chairman and Secretary General. The Congress was calculated to confirm the vanguard role of 'Austro-Socialism.' Kreisky announced beforehand that the Congress will be ideological in complexion and that 'questions of a fundamental nature, relating to the Social-Democrats' socio-political intentions and tasks at this time, should be in the focus of the debate.'^{*} In short, Austria's Socialists could be expected to define for themselves and possibly for others as well – the future they aspire to.

Choosing the goal

The past two or three decades have seen Social-Democratic leaders outdoing one another, so to speak, in showing their abhorrence of

^{*}Die Zukunft, No. 1/2, 1972, p. 2.

theoretical thinking. It has been fashionable among them to insist that they are men of action, technocrats or practical politicians totally indifferent to ideological matters, and to sneer at anyone who supports his actions with references to theory.

Hence it was symptomatic that the Congress had an ideological orientation. Social-Democracy is evidently conscious of its lack of clear political objectives. More important still, it sees that the rank and file, for whom its appeals are meant, refuse any longer to settle for short-lived slogans and want to know where they are going. At a time when not only the Communists, who have always had a precise long-range Marxist-Leninist program, but bourgeois parties try to announce long-range goals, the Social-Democrats cannot confine themselves to the formula, 'Let us wait till the next election and then we'll see.'

Why, the informed reader may argue, Austria's Socialists do have a program approved after protracted and acrimonious debate in Vienna in 1958. Yes, they do, and Kreisky saw fit to quote it in his policy report. 'After all,' he said, 'one must refer often to the program, for it is too easily forgotten.' The delegates applauded when reminded of such program objectives of the SPA as elimination of classes, equitable distribution of the social product, complete equality of citizens, unfettered development of the individual, and worldwide community of men.

That was as far as it went. Neither the main speaker, nor those who spoke after him tried to link the SPA's present activity with these objectives. What they said sounded rather like an invocation: they spoke like people disenchanted in the coming of the Messiah but wishing to preserve the image of righteous Christians in the eyes of the public.

Building a classless society was clearly not the goal underlying the Social-Democrats' search for political principles. They preferred the formula laid down in the Vienna program. 'Socialism,' it reads, 'is unlimited political, economic and social democracy. Socialism is consummate democracy.' Comparing this definition of socialism with those offered by the Encyclopaedia Britannica and a philosophical dictionary published in the GDR, Kreisky said that 'ours is the best of all known definitions,' and that 'as a visualization of purpose it not only reaches far into the future but must at the same time serve as a practical guideline for our political activity today.'

While the former claim is not worthy of note as obvious advertising, the latter must be taken seriously. It is an authoritative statement of what precisely should be regarded as the Austrian Social Democrats' 1972 credo. Although the definition concerned has already been criticized by Marxist-Leninist authors, we are forced to deal with it again.

Socialists without socialism

To begin with, it is puzzling that the speaker should have applied the adjective 'unlimited' to the concept of democracy. Democracy

has from of old been taken to mean a form of government guaranteeing the citizens' broad participation in government, their equality, and individual freedom. Which of these elements can be unlimited and how would that affect society? Take, for example, unlimited freedom to sell marijuana or advocate racism. Or—to quote Anatole France—the unlimited right of the owner of a mansion and a homeless pauper to spend the night under a Seine bridge. And how can anyone talk of unlimited democracy in a society split into the warring classes of exploiters and exploited?

In short, one has only to consult a primer of politics to see the utter absurdity of defining socialism as 'unlimited democracy.' The same is true of 'consummate democracy.' The very idea that the development of society can assume a final form, however ideal, smacks of obscurantism. Nor is it clear in what way 'consummate democracy' will be socialist. One might define socialism with the same degree of vagueness or haziness by describing it as, say, the 'triumph of justice' or the 'kingdom of reason.'

Now, since neither 'unlimited,' nor 'consummate' democracy can furnish a clear idea of socialism, what is there left of socialism in the Vienna program's definition? To go by it is virtually tantamount to renouncing socialism. Despite the publicity-seeking statement mentioned above, this definition is not the happiest and is, in fact, no definition at all. Even the Britannica offers a more competent definition. At any rate, it is careful to note that socialism implies public ownership and public control of the means of production.

To say that socialism cannot be defined as democracy does not mean to underestimate it. Inasmuch as this issue is an object of constant social-reformist speculation, it will not be amiss to recall what Marxism-Leninism says about it.

Democracy is a form of government and as such it is inevitably limited by the class character of the state. Hence there is no such thing, nor can there be, as a general democracy. What exists are class-oriented types of democracy, such as slave-holding or bourgeois democracy. Socialism alone makes it possible to establish genuine democratic principles, which under capitalism are nominal, by eliminating the exploitation of man by man and class antagonisms and by establishing the political rule of the working class and other working people. People's rule, equality and individual freedom acquire real meaning as a result of eliminating the exploitation of labor, ending the division of society into antagonistic classes, establishing social ownership and subordinating all social development to the good and progress of society.

But even socialist democracy cannot be an end in itself, no matter how perfect it becomes through the establishment of new social relations, for it remains a historically determinate form of political power. It is bound to disappear with the state, while democratic principles will be carried forward under the system of communist public self-administration.

Briefly, socialism is impossible without democracy, but neither

can we reduce socialism to only democracy.* What a pity that these truths have to be repeated to people claiming to have originated the 'best' definition of socialism. As we know, Lenin took to task those who adapt themselves to the bourgeois parliamentary system, 'keeping silent about the *bourgeois* character of modern democracy and demanding only *its* extension, only that it be carried to its logical conclusion' (Coll. Works, Vol. 28, p. 280).

Ideologizing the modern or modernizing ideology

Let us leave aside theoretical formulas and turn to the experience of life. While SPA Congress delegates and guests made speeches in the new, well-appointed hall, a propaganda exhibition was in preparation in the town's main square. Four stands displayed photographs, slogans and graphs presenting the achievements of the SDP government, the nation's economic targets, and the outlook for social maintenance and public education.

In two years of SPA rule, one of the stands informed viewers, savings bank deposits had increased to such-and-such an extent, widows' pensions had gone up and the younger generation had gained greater educational opportunities. Another stand announced that the economic growth rate stood at 7.1 per cent. A third supplied data on unemployment in the United States, Britain, Italy, France and the Netherlands. 'These data show,' it commented, 'how countries governed by Conservatives suffer from unemployment. We must avoid their fate.'

The obvious implication is that unemployment is not a product of the capitalist economic system but a result of Conservative misgovernment. One might think that Britain had had no unemployment under Labor governments or that Italy has not for decades been ruled by the Center Left, with the participation of Socialists and Social-Democrats. Besides, not a word about the socialist countries. It is not easy to admit, indeed, that the system which Right Socialists invariably label as 'Communist dictatorship' has the important achievement of full employment.

More about the exhibits: agriculture, research, education, sports, culture, not much about past achievements and a lot about the prospects. And on every stand the word 'modernize' – 'modernizing' society, 'modernizing' the economy, 'modernizing' culture. Nor just on the stands and just in Villach. Presentable young men and women call from posters on the highways, in underpasses, in the windows of the newsstands: 'Join us in the SPA. It is our party that has set out to make Austria a modern country.'

In other words, 'modern' things are declared to be the goal, they are publicized as a new symbol of faith and exalted to the rank of ideology.

*It is interesting to note that while Austria's Socialists identify socialism with democracy, their West German counterparts virtually treat the two concepts as opposites. 'Social-Democracy and democratic socialism' said Herbert Wehner, Vice-Chairman of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, at that party's Saarbruecken congress, 'imply as much socialism as is needed to provide democracy for all, and as much socialism as is possible without strangling democracy for all.' (SPD-Parteitag 1970. Protokoll. Neuer Vorwaerts-Verlag Nau u. Co., Hannover/Bonn, p. 97.)

Anyone can appreciate people speaking of modernizing techniques and technologies, for everyone wants his country to keep pace with the times. But the same slogan with regard to the economy and, moreover, put forward as the ultimate goal of a political party, makes one wonder: modernization usually implies following a model. And what is the model of the SPA? Would it be the U.S. model with its high productivity, high unemployment and all-powerful monopolies? And does modernizing culture imply lifting the ban on pornography? As we see, there is modern and modern, and whoever announces a plan to modernize his country ought to specify what he means.

Bruno Kreisky did not specify in his report, any more than speakers in the debate did. We were lucky enough to find the answer in 'The SPA in Power: What Is Left of Socialism?', an article by Josef Hindels, a noted Austrian Left Socialist. 'The Kreisky government,' he writes, 'sets itself an ambitious goal: apart from effecting a series of social changes for the better, to win high marks for modernizing and rationalizing the Austrian capitalist system, and for trying to bring it nearer to the standards of Western countries that have entered the latest stage of capitalist development. A "lame capitalism," as Eduard Maerz aptly described the capitalist system in this country, must give way to a capitalism reformed by technocrats and no longer limping. But then this has nothing to do with socialism.'*

Revolution or reform

The aim determines the means. When the aim is said to be 'modernizing society' all revolutionary activity becomes unnecessary. For the benefit of those who may not be sure that this is the SD leaders' attitude, we can quote Bruno Kreisky: 'As for the forms evolved in the early period of socialism, such, for instance, as expropriation of expropriators, I could not care less about them.'**

The Right Socialists' repudiation of the revolutionary principles of scientific socialism and their adoption of social reformism goes back roughly 60 years. What prompted us to mention it is that the SPA leader saw fit in his recent statements, and particularly in his Congress report, to argue from theoretical positions against revolutionary action as being 'fruitless.' Having come out against revolution, he also hit at reform. This is something new.

Speaking of the period between the two world wars, Kreisky pointed to the contradiction between 'the reformist practice of everyday democratic activity and loyalty to the laws of the bourgeois legal and constitutional state,' on the one hand, and the theoretical conclusion that revolution is the only road to socialism, on the other. This contradiction, he said, has given rise to a bitter struggle in the Austrian labor movement. The upshot? 'Both the reformists and the revolutionaries proved wrong,' he said. 'The

*Die Republik, No. 1, 1972.

**Welt am Sonntag, Sept. 26, 1971, p. 5.

reformists, because all their zeal was in vain and all their efforts became pointless during the terrible economic crisis with its many millions of unemployed and its unexampled want and hopelessness, a crisis during which the broad masses were gripped by despair and became unresisting victims of fascist dictatorships. As for the revolutionaries, they proved wrong because that enormous world crisis did not become a crisis of capitalism nor culminate in revolution – at its end came fascist dictatorship, and war.*

Almost every other sentence in this passage needs to be refuted, above all the transposition of cause and effect which misrepresents the actual course of history. Indeed, one of the reasons why the 'terrible' world crisis of capitalism did not lead to victory of the revolutionary working-class movement in the leading capitalist centers was that the reformists did their best to preserve loyalty to the 'bourgeois legal state.' The same holds for the fascist dictatorship, which was made possible by the division of the working-class movement and the Right Social-Democrats' rejection of a united front with the Communists.

However, evaluating historical events is a special matter. The SPA leader invokes past history manifestly to extract theoretical wisdom for his fellow-Socialists. A fresh look at his report invites the conclusion that that wisdom boils down to the formula: neither revolution, nor reform.

The reader may ask why the Social-Democrats should want to discredit the concept of reform, which has been their banner for decades. The answer consists of two conflicting elements: first, it does not pay to be known as a reformist in an age of rapid revolutionary change, when real socialism is gaining strength and influence and when even some bourgeois leaders prefer to pass for revolutionaries, and, second, the masses supporting the Social-Democrats are now gravitating towards socialism, which finds theoretical reflection, among others, in the concept of democratic structural reforms. But the moment the concept of reform comes to be interpreted in broad terms, tending to connote a measure of revolutionary action, it loses its one-time appeal as far as the Right Socialists are concerned. Moreover, it becomes a bogey for some of the Social-Democrats' present-day allies and fellow-travellers from the bourgeois camp.

However, one cannot reject both revolution and reform without proposing something instead. This explains why Kreisky's report includes a section entitled 'Dialectical Process.' The section comprises only a few sentences, but they are of fundamental importance.

'Hence, in realizing democratic socialism, social democracy, it is a question of a continuous, if I may say so, a dialectical process. And I say so deliberately. The society to come will be – and I do not here hesitate to use an expression of Marx's – the result of "a series of historical processes transforming circumstances and men".'***

*Report to the SPA Congress. *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, April 19, 1972. I.

***Arbeiter-Zeitung*, April 19, 1972. II.

It is amusing that Social-Democrats, who like to refer to their Marxist origin, consider it a sign of great courage to quote Marx. One needs to be a real daredevil to speak of the founder of scientific communism, the great revolutionary, as one's ally in rejecting not only all revolution but all reform of any consequence. For while Marx here uses the concept of historical process in its philosophical sense, the author of the program report tried to substitute it for the concrete forms of social development, to submerge in it the problem of the way to socialism.

Socialism without socialists?

In his article 'Social-Democratic Prospects for the Seventies,'* Bruno Kreisky set out, even before the Congress, his concept of the history of the working-class movement. Social-Democracy, he wrote, has gone through three phases of development. In the first phase its task was to arouse the proletariat to its social role. Along with this it fought for political democracy. Its second historic task was to grow into an influential political force, and to set about creating a 'social welfare' state. Its present phase, the third, is to bring about 'social democracy' proper.

Considering this outline on its merits, we agree that the first phase of the working-class movement, and Social-Democracy as its vanguard, was to foster the proletariat's class consciousness. It is precisely what Marxist-Leninists mean when they speak of the need to unite the working-class movement with scientific socialism. However, the definition of the subsequent periods will not hold water because it ignores the whole period of history associated with the split in the working-class movement caused by Right-wing opportunists, and with the revolutionary process of formation of the socialist world.

Let us, however, stop to examine the affirmation that the Social-Democrats' task in the second phase was to establish a 'welfare' state. What was the difference between them and the bourgeois parties proclaiming the same objective? 'It was of secondary importance,' the SPA leader answers, 'whether the Social-Democratic Party had government responsibilities in establishing the welfare state as in, say, Sweden, or whether it represented an increasingly strong opposition.'**

He recently reaffirmed this idea in an interview with the information bulletin of the Socialist International. 'You believe that it does not matter, in the last analysis, who brings about the social reforms?' he was asked. 'Yes, I believe that,' he replied.*** Lastly, the article he wrote before the Congress said: 'For all our appreciation of effective grassroots policy, it should be clear that the Austrian Social-Democrats are not the People's Party with a Left-wing orientation and that where the boundary lines appear to be blurred, the chief reason for this is that by virtue of its inner structure

**Die Neue Gesellschaft*, No. 3, 1970.

***Ibid.*, p. 289.

****Socialist Affairs*, Vol. XXII, No. 4, April 1972, p. 78.

the People's Party, for example, now simply cannot avoid socio-political reforms.'*

But since the People's Party cannot avoid reforms, does it not follow that it can participate in bringing about 'social democracy,' said to be the goal of the present, the 'third,' phase of Social-Democracy?

And so, socialism without socialists.

'Great alternative'

The present-day SD concept of social development may be described as follows:

Mankind has come to a roadsign showing right to capitalism, left to 'communist dictatorship,' and straight to social democracy, to happiness in a modernized paradise.

The Vienna program back in 1958 declared Social-Democracy to be the great alternative to capitalism and communism. And now this formula is being made the apex of a new ideological edifice. It was repeated in the main report and the resolution of the SPA Congress and one comes across it again and again in the press. In fact, it has assumed an international character, for Social-Democracy in various capitalist countries is, in spite of differences over this or that issue, commonly presented as the 'alternative.'

If you turn to the right and rely on our SD roadsign, you will hear a few polite criticisms of capitalism with the reservation that it has of late changed considerably for the better, and with the recommendation to read Galbraith's writings on the modern industrial society. Thereupon you will be told that as far as Austria is concerned, 'there is no more capitalism worthy of the name.'** You are expected to conclude, on putting the two pieces of information together, that in other countries too, which have set up Galbraith's 'industrial society,' there is no capitalism worthy of the name.

Those who venture to trust the SD roadsign and turn to the left will encounter an entirely different, gloomy scene replete with all kinds of horrors – 'totalitarian dictatorship,' 'rule of the apparatus' and 'enlightened absolutism.' And you will be wrong if you think any evidence is given to support these censorious judgments, or that they are the result of at least an elementary attempt to analyze the actual state of affairs, to understand the processes in the socialist world. There is neither evidence nor analysis – just references to Ernst Fischer, Roger Garaudy and Wolfgang Leonhard, the three renegades expelled from Communist parties. Though Kreisky calls them 'embittered Communists' he fails to see how improper it is to seek support in quoting that kind of people.

And now another sample of SD criticism. In communist states, the SPA leader says, there is 'a system which cannot by nature solve the complicated problems of a modern society.' And that about the system which played the decisive role in defeating fas-

**Die Zukunft*, No. 1/2, 1972, p. 2.

***Arbeiter-Zeitung*, April 4, 1972. II.

cism, enabled many nations to forge ahead in economy, science and technology, and is setting an example of steady social progress. Perhaps some Social-Democrats know little about the outstanding and universally recognized achievements of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. If so, let them find out more about those achievements without forgetting, however, that ignorance is no argument.

The Social-Democrats' 'great alternative' is no more than an anti-communist formula which Lenin showed to be untenable. 'The main thing that Socialists fail to understand and that constitutes their short-sightedness in matters of theory, their subservience to bourgeois prejudices and their political betrayal of the proletariat,' Lenin said, 'is that in capitalist society, whenever there is any serious aggravation of the class struggle intrinsic to that society, there can be no alternative but the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the dictatorship of the proletariat. Dreams of some third way are reactionary, petty-bourgeois lamentations' (Vol. 28, pp. 463-464).

It would be wrong to say that the winds of change never blow in the SD movement. Take the unity of Socialist and Communist working people in strikes and in the trade union movement; the political agreements on various forms of alliance among Left-wing parties in some capitalist countries; the role of some SD governments in promoting international détente. In this respect, positive value attaches to the fact that the SPA Congress supported the idea of a European security and cooperation conference and stressed the significance for European peace of the Soviet and Polish treaties with the FRG.

But the fresh winds of change have not yet penetrated to those ideological 'repositories' where the Social-Democratic leadership keep – and even augment – the anti-communist prejudices willed them by the fathers of opportunism.

The Villach Congress was greeted at its first sitting by Harold Wilson, the British Labor leader, on behalf of the Socialist International. He spoke of the influence of the SD movement, saying that it now encompasses 35 active parties representing countries inhabited by almost one billion people, that SD governments now lead countries with a population of 200 million, and that even the Communists tend to stop using the term 'Social-Democrat' in a derogatory sense although it took them 50 years to come to that.

'Mr. Wilson,' I asked him at a press conference later on, 'how long do you think it will take Social-Democratic leaders to stop using the term "Communist" in a derogatory sense?' The answer was non-committal. The Labor leader preferred to 'forget' the initiatives which the Communist movement repeatedly advanced at crucial moments in history, seeking effective cooperation and alliance with the Socialists for the interests of the working class, for peace, democracy and socialism.

The extent of responsibility

Going back to Brecht's figure of speech, we may say that there are

no particular obstacles on the road chosen by the SPA and that when they have been overcome we are not likely to see beyond the hump a florescent Austro-socialism.

But then perhaps no one counts on that. Ernst Wimmer writes in his article 'Ideological Rearmament in the SPA,' that the word *dualism* is best suited for that party's ideology. 'Two faces are cultivated,' he goes on to say, 'which are shown to different publics. And there is a different truth for each public. One can lead people in only one direction, of course. Even sheep would not believe that the ram could lead them both left and right.'*

I believe that another ingredient of that ideology in addition to dualism is a high degree of eclecticism. When reading contributions to the pre-Congress discussion and listening to certain speeches at Villach, there was no getting away from the impression that the Social-Democrats' theoretical analyses are patchy, haphazard and superficial, and lack the thoroughness which has long been typical of the social sciences based on Marxism-Leninism. Certain SD theoreticians set a premium on incisive metaphor, witty remark, fresh paradox. We have no objection to these things, but we find it regrettable that depth and accuracy of thought are sacrificed in the process.

In short, Social-Democracy is paying dearly for its rupture with Marxism, nor can the concepts of industrial and post-industrial society fill the gaping breach in its ideology.

Bruno Kreisky concluded his report by quoting Karl Renner: 'The truth is not behind but ahead of us.' This is wrong. The truth lies both behind and ahead of us, for one cannot advance to the future without learning the lessons of the past.

The greatest lesson taught by history to the working-class movement is that defeat is the price which the proletariat must pay for disunity. This is why Communists tackle the problem of cooperation with the Social-Democrats with a keen sense of responsibility. While refusing to make any concessions on principles or to desist from criticizing reformist ideology and practice, Communist parties constantly seek unity of action with Socialist parties on a strictly class basis. The 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties explicitly reaffirmed this line.

'We Communists,' wrote Franz Muhri, Chairman of the Communist Party of Austria, in an article on the Villach Congress, 'will not allow anti-communism of the Right-wing leadership of the Socialist Party to prevent us from promoting contacts and political and ideological discussions with Socialist workers, from advocating joint actions and movements in the enterprises and communities in support of specific demands of the working people, or from coming out for the maintenance and extension of the social and democratic rights of the working people, for the safeguarding of Austria's neutrality and independence, for international solidarity, peace and socialism.'* A splendid example of a responsible attitude to the

* *Weg und Ziel*, No. 3, 1972, p. 86.

** *Volksstimme*, April 21, 1972, p. 2.

fundamental interests of the working-class movement and the cause of socialism. All who really want to uphold these interests and assure the success of this cause would do well to follow this example.

Really, mankind is not faced with a threefold choice, as some SD leaders will have us believe, but is advancing, if not without difficulty, in one direction, from capitalism to socialism. And there is today no criterion more precise of progressiveness, or of responsibility to the future, than participation in this great movement.



Ratification of the treaties and the tasks ahead

Karl-Heinz Noetzel

The Third Plenum of the Board of the German Communist Party convened after the ratification of the FRG treaties with the USSR and Poland, described this ratification as a step of great historical significance for our country and all of Europe.

Progressive forces in the FRG, including the GCP, have pointed out repeatedly (and today this is more topical than ever) that the treaties pave the way for a turn in FRG relations with the USSR, Poland, the GDR and other socialist countries towards stable long-term cooperation, and could bring closer an all-European conference on security and cooperation and negotiations to reduce armaments and armed forces in this part of the world. Their ratification created the prerequisites for the coming into force of the four-power agreement on West Berlin, the FRG-GDR transit agreement and transport accord. Opportunities are thus opening up that could truly ring in a new stage in European development. The inviolability of existing borders in Europe, including the western frontier of Poland along the Oder and Neisse and the boundary between the GDR and FRG, is thus recognized as the decisive condition of peace.

The treaties put on record that the FRG renounces the use of force in resolving controversial issues, that it recognizes the inviolability of frontiers and shall make no territorial claims at present or in the future. This fundamental point in the relations between the FRG and the socialist countries is especially significant, because past decades have shown that the question of boundaries is a question of war or peace.

The Moscow and Warsaw treaties thus contain what we Communists in the FRG had been working for. They conform with the goals formulated by the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, the congresses of the CPSU and SUPG, and likewise the Duesseldorf Congress of the GCP.

Now our Party must work not only for better relations between the FRG and the socialist countries, but also build up more effective opposition to anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. It must also show renewed energy in establishing class ties between the working class of the FRG, USSR, GDR and other countries.

All who wish to live in peace and security stand to gain from the ratification of the treaties. We must not, however, relax our vigilance. A great deal depends on the future struggle for the fulfilment of the terms of the treaties.

We must keep a watchful eye on the most reactionary Right forces, who did not stop at slander, lies and bribery of deputies to try and unseat the SDP/FDP coalition and torpedo ratification of the treaties. Strauss and Barzel, the top men in the CDU/CSU and spokesmen for the military-industrial complex, have been doing their utmost to scuttle the treaties.

The reactionaries were forced to retreat. However, their harmful influence has not yet been overcome. They refuse to accept reality and no one should harbor any illusion concerning the aggressive intentions of the reactionary Right.

The Bundestag factions' joint resolution on the treaties is, in effect, an attempt to preserve old and defeated positions. The untenable policy of adventure was dragged in through the back door. Even the bourgeois papers in the Federal Republic said that the CDU/CSU was counting on the resolution to force the government into following a policy consonant with its aspirations. It would like the resolution to have more weight than the treaties. And these maneuvers show that it intends to damage the spirit and letter of the treaties and prevent their fulfilment. Any future Federal government should be judged by its approach to the text of the treaties and its energy in opposing Rightist attempts to interpret them in their own way.

The SDP and FDP leadership backed ratification, confirming what our Party said immediately after the formation of the Brandt-Scheel government. We stated at the time that the working class could not be indifferent to who ruled the country – the CDU/CSU or SDP/FDP. This is important for peace and security. But our Party is also aware that the coalition government is working to preserve and strengthen the existing state-monopoly system.

The GCP supported the SDP efforts in favor of ratification, at the same time criticizing it for the long delays and its reluctance to use its influence to build up powerful popular pressure on the Bundestag. Negative, too, was the fact that the Right-wing leaders of the SDP and the FDP executives bowed to the wishes of Barzel, Strauss and Schroeder by declaring publicly that the latter are determined to work for peace and have positive intentions. By professing common views with the ultra-Right and agreeing to adopt a joint foreign-policy resolution, the SDP has, in effect, rendered support to the opposition in its desire to impose the principles of its own policy as a joint foreign policy of the parties represented in the Bundestag. For the people of our country and especially the workers this is a definite warning that they must be on their guard and ready to foil intrigues against peace by the military-industrial complex and the CDU/CSU.

During the almost two-years-long struggle for the Bundestag to ratify the treaties and especially the critical days of April 1972,

the whole world saw that it was not the parliamentary clashes in Bonn that were decisive in achieving a positive solution and defeating the reactionary trouble-makers. Ratification was made possible because of the shift in the balance of forces in favor of peace and socialism, because of the principled peaceful policy of the socialist community, its initiatives and proposals for consolidating European peace, which won broad acclaim in all countries. All this forced German imperialism to adapt to the new conditions.

As a result, better conditions are appearing in the Federal Republic for the workers and all democrats to achieve their goals. The consolidation of peace and relaxation of tensions creates more favorable ground for the workers' fight for broader social and democratic rights. People are more conscious of the fact that the setback of the military-industrial complex will also bring about the defeat of the 'positions of strength' policy and aggressiveness towards the socialist countries. We FRG Communists can now show more convincingly to the workers that socialism and peace are inter-related.

The activity of the masses was important for the ratification of the treaties. The workers and people of the FRG expressed their sentiment at meetings, in demonstrations, and during warning strikes and collections of signatures. The working people took up the GCP slogan: 'Stop Strauss and Barzel! Fight for the Treaties! Prevent the Fall of the Brand-Scheel Government.'

It is obviously necessary to carefully analyze the course of events, to consider the new factors in the struggle for the ratification of the treaties. This will help draw important conclusions for our policy of alliances. Some can already be drawn:

- We have obtained fresh confirmation that the basis for joint action is in the common real interests of the Social-Democrats and Communists, in the workers' class interests. On many occasions the mass actions upset the anti-Communist decisions of the Right-wing SDP leaders and disproved the contentions that members of the SDP and GCP have no common interests.

- In the strenuous confrontation the working class has again shown that it is the decisive mobile force in the struggle for peace and social progress; the 'Left' and Right opportunist evaluations of the role of the working class have been disproved. We can legitimately say that the workers' class consciousness has risen to a new high in the FRG.

- A large section of the people realized quickly the need for extra-parliamentary action, which helped influence the Bundestag decisions. The struggle for the ratification of the treaties was closely associated with the working people's stake in the advantages flowing from a peaceful policy.

Our Party was a guiding and uniting force in the democratic movement and took an active part in all phases of the fight for ratification. In our many actions we sought to explain to the working class and the youth that the treaties were primarily in the interest of the working people.

The Third Plenum of the GCP Board defined our immediate tasks, and, first and foremost, the task of working for the implementation of the treaties. Our Duesseldorf Congress advanced the demand for a phased reduction of military expenditures. Fulfilment of this timely and realistic demand follows logically from the ratified treaties.

The GCP welcomes and supports all measures in preparation of the all-European conference on security and cooperation. It is calling on the Federal government to contribute to this without delay and to participate in the multilateral consultations concerning the conference.

We believe that a struggle should be developed in the FRG for early agreement with the GDR. Establishment of normal relations between the two German states under international law and their admission to the UN and its organizations on a parity basis, is the next essential step in the interest of peace.

Green light for all-European conference

A. B.

Almost all European countries regard a security and cooperation conference as useful and timely. Preparations for it are now an element of practical diplomacy. The press reports lively contacts. Finland's Foreign Ministry has held talks with a number of states to initiate preliminary multilateral consultations in Helsinki. Most European capitals are drafting proposals to be discussed by the conference.

Symptomatically, most of the projects for Europe's peace arrangement are consonant with the main security principles set forth in the January Prague Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty countries. This is not surprising, for the joint program of the socialist countries is both realistic and constructive. While faithful to proletarian internationalism, foiling imperialist designs across the world, the socialist countries are sincere in their wish to heed the proposals and wishes of the capitalist states, so long as these accord with the interests of security and cooperation. Their policy facilitates further détente and greater confidence in Europe, working against those who want to take the continent back to the gloomy days of politico-military confrontation and cold war. Even in the NATO framework the old 'Atlantic' conceptions are gradually taking a back seat. The NATO Council of Ministers meeting in Bonn at the end of May said in its communique that 'the ministers have agreed to begin

multilateral preparatory consultations for a conference on European security and cooperation.'

The worth of an idea is measured by its hold on the public mind. The idea of remaking Europe from a region of conflicts into a zone of enduring peace has sparked a broad movement in all corners of the continent, joined by political leaders, parliamentarians, trade unionists, and by youth, women's, cultural, and clerical organizations. Communist parties have promoted a mass European security campaign exerting continuous pressure on capitalist governments to speed up the conference. The peoples of the continent are determined jointly to break the way to a peaceful Europe. The Brussels Public Assembly in June, attended by nearly 1,000 representatives from all over the Old World, provided clear evidence of this, and the International Youth Conference for European Security, to be held in Helsinki in August, is another step in the same direction.

The way to a security and cooperation system is not easy. The aggressive forces, which want no détente, are trying to delay the conference, hoping ultimately to bury the idea. At one time, for example, it was made conditional on the quadripartite West Berlin agreement and revenge-seeking elements in West Germany did their worst to prevent ratification of the USSR-FRG and Poland-FRG treaties, and later on the strategic arms limitations talks between the USSR and USA.

The dynamic peace policy of the Soviet Union and the socialist community upset the cold war warriors' designs. The FRG treaties with the USSR and Poland have been ratified; the quadrilateral agreement on West Berlin has entered into force, and a treaty on the limitation of anti-ballistic missile systems and an interim agreement on certain measures with respect to the limitation of strategic offensive arms were concluded between the Soviet Union and the USA during President Nixon's visit to Moscow in May.

The joint Soviet-American communique says an all-European conference 'should be convened at a time to be agreed by the countries concerned, but without undue delay.' Thus, a firm foundation is rising for the peaceful future of Europe. A.B.

Britain: mass struggles reach new heights

Gordon McLennan

During 1971 there was a sharpening and extension of class struggle in Britain.

In 1972 it has risen to higher levels.

The Tory government, desperately trying to re-establish Britain's

imperialist position, is attacking the people's living standards and democratic rights over a broad front.

The people are fighting back.

Under the leadership of the organized working-class movement, millions of workers are being involved in militant, direct actions, challenging Government policy.

The demand for an early General Election is intensifying. Militant workers are winning wide support for their view that it is urgently necessary to throw out the present Government and replace it with a Labor Government that will pursue socialist policies.

Many of the social, economic and political demands of the Left have been the subject of great mass struggle over the last period.

A particularly important and significant struggle has been that of the workers of the shipbuilding yards on the River Clyde in Scotland. The upper reaches of that river run through the great industrial city of Glasgow, with a population of one million, and the smaller adjoining town of Clydebank. On these upper reaches are sited four famous shipyards employing 8,500 workers. For some years these yards have been operated by Upper Clyde Shipbuilders Ltd., a company in which the Government had a strong financial stake. In June 1971 a bombshell announcement was made indicating that the Company faced major financial problems and couldn't survive without greater financial assistance from the Government.

The Government declared that it would not give this assistance and that the work force should be reduced by several thousand workers in the months ahead. Subsequently they supported the proposals of an investigation commission which recommended the sacking of 6,000 of the employees and closure of at least two of the yards.

The workers decided to fight with all their strength and power to keep the yards open and to save their jobs. Their first reaction to the Government's announcement, that thousands must lose their jobs, was sharp and uncompromising: 'Not one man will be dismissed. If the Government are determined to throw us out of our jobs they will need to come and do it themselves. We will not accept unemployment. We demand the right to work.'

To back up their words they took an action that was both simple and brilliant in its purpose and execution. They took control of the yards and 'worked-in.' The Shop Stewards Committee, the trade union authority at shop floor level, became the determining force in the functioning of the yards and in this received cooperation of the supervisory staff and the management. Representatives of the Shop Stewards Committee manned all entrances to the yards throughout day and night and they decided who, and what materials, would enter and leave the yards.

Other sections of the working-class movement, including the Communist Party and the *Morning Star*, organized activities and solidarity on behalf of the work-in. Several of the main spokesmen of the Clyde workers, especially James Reid, E.C. members of the

Communist Party, became widely known as outstanding spokesmen and leaders of the working-class movement.

After months of unremitting tension and resourceful fight the Government was forced to retreat. The possibility of the four yards remaining open, in full production and with no loss of jobs, is now very real. Whatever the future holds it can be confidently stated that a great victory has been won by the men of the Clyde with important lessons for all other workers.

The lessons were quickly grasped.

Clydeside shipyard workers were not alone in facing unemployment. The Tory Government used two main weapons to hold back wages and break working-class resistance to their other main policies, first, shackles in the form of anti-trade union legislation and mass unemployment. Through 1971 unemployment figures rose consistently until in late 1971 and early 1972 they topped the million mark in official Government statistics. The real figure today is nearer 1½ million.*

In mid-1971 the Trades Union Congress organized a series of demonstrations against unemployment throughout the country, the first events of this kind since the 1930s, culminating in a mass lobby of Parliament on November 24. On that day hundreds of thousands of workers throughout Britain stopped work and marched in mighty demonstrations through some of the great industrial centers of the land. Meanwhile thousands of workers in London marched on Parliament urging measures to end unemployment. In the view of many militants this great day of working-class action ended rather timidly with a meeting of two to three thousand trade unionists in Central Hall, London, at which Vic Feather, TUC General Secretary, said of Prime Minister Heath: 'He would do the nation a favor if he would shuffle his Government right off the political scene.'

The *Morning Star* editorial the next day put the issue more sharply. It pinpointed the responsibility of the Trades Union Congress to initiate much wider and more militant action, and declared:

'The cry which went up from tens of thousands of throats yesterday, "Sack the Tories, not the workers," expresses the deep anger of trade unionists against the mass unemployment created by the Heath Government's policy.

'Yesterday's stoppages, lobby and marches, successful and impressive though they were, must be seen as only the opening stage in the battle for the right to work and a change of Government.

'They should be followed up by TUC-organized national demonstrations during working hours, and nationwide strike action, in support of the right to work.'

Simultaneously with the fight against unemployment, the trade union movement was developing the struggle for higher wages and battling against the Tory Bill on Industrial Relations, then being

*The official Government figure does not include those unemployed for a temporary period, or those not entitled to receive unemployment payments. The April official figure dropped to 900,000, but even this is higher than the April figure for the past 20 years. - Ed.

debated in Parliament. On two occasions the powerful Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW) organized 24-hour strikes involving over two million workers. Great demonstrations took place in these months in every major city, including one organized by the Trades Union Congress in London attended by 140,000 working people, the greatest demonstration seen in Britain this century. A rank and file organization, the Liaison Committee for the Defense of Trades Unions, played an outstanding role in this period.

The call of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party in January 1971 for General Strike action to defeat the Bill reflected the views of many militants in the unions and was widely supported. Finally the General Council of the Trades Union Congress was compelled to convene a Special Trades Union Congress to consider what further action the movement as a whole should take. By a vote of just over four million to over three million the proposal for a 24-hour General Strike was defeated. However, agreement was maintained on the need to oppose the Bill. This was further endorsed at the Trades Union Congress in September, along with a recommendation that all trade unions should refuse to register under the Act which would come into being when the Tories finally forced the Bill through Parliament.

The Act is now in operation, but a massive majority of the trade unions have still refused to register, though a few of them have done so. The new Act dealt its first blow against the Transport and General Workers' Union, the industrial court imposing fines of £55,000 after industrial action taken by its members. Also, when the three railway unions organized a 'work to rule' in support of their wage demands, the effect was to slow down railway traffic, with fewer trains running, and for a time there was a complete stoppage of trains in London.

In the *Morning Star* (6.5.72) John Gollan, General Secretary of the Communist Party, made clear the Communist attitude in these words:

'A few weeks of the Industrial Relations Act confirm it as the vicious class legislation it is, legislation with the express purpose of destroying militant trade unionism.'

Gollan went on to stress that 'all-out action, including industrial action, to sweep away this Act, is the need.' This was also the call of a mass trade union conference organized by the Liaison Committee for the Defense of Trade Unions, a militant movement within the trade unions which gives expression to the demands of rank and file workers.

All the elements now exist for a great new confrontation between the unions and the Government on this issue. Communists will continue their fight to win the trade union movement to exercise its full power to defeat the Government in this confrontation, make the Act unworkable, and by doing so help further to create conditions for a General Election, from which a Labor Government, pledged to repeal the Act, will be returned to office.

Throughout the whole of 1971 many trade unions took industrial

action of one form or another, to win higher wages for their members. The longest and in many ways the most difficult strike battle, was conducted by the Union of Post Office Workers. With a membership of 200,000 this was the first all-out national strike in the history of the union. But finally the union leaders settled for advances in wages and conditions far below what they and their members were demanding.

What was crystal clear in the Government's confrontation with the postal workers, was that the Government was trying to establish a 'norm,' an accepted level of improvement in wages and conditions in the nationalized industries and public services. This 'norm' was to be around eight per cent and once having been accepted as reasonable in the public sector, would, the Government hoped, become generally acceptable in other sectors of industry.

In late 1971 the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) came up against this Government 'wages code' in the negotiations they were conducting with the National Coal Board. Despite producing clear evidence that the miners' wages and conditions had deteriorated sharply, relative to other workers, in the past ten years, the Coal Board, backed by the Government, refused to accede to the miners' claims for a substantial increase in wages, an extra week's annual holiday and other improvements in conditions. On January 5 this year the Coal Board made a 'final offer' to the miners of around eight per cent and said there could be no improvement in the offer.

The National Executive of the NUM, meeting later that day, voted by 23 votes to 2 to reject this 'offer,' called on all branches of the union to support their attitude and to ask the 280,000 members of the union to cease work from midnight on Saturday, 8 January. The response of the branches and members was overwhelming. Work was stopped in every colliery in Britain, and one of the most significant and historic battles in the long history of the British working-class movement was under way.

As distinct from many other trades unions the NUM had no funds to pay 'strike benefits' to its members engaged in industrial action. It was thought by many who don't understand the working-class movement, and above all, don't understand miners and their families, that faced with the great hardship that would be involved in a long strike without wages of any kind, the original response to the call of the miners' leadership would weaken and the strike gradually crumble. The opposite was the case. As day followed day and week followed week, the miners' conviction of the justice of their cause grew and their determination to fight for justice became stronger. From the start of their struggle they understood that to win victory over the Coal Board and the Government they needed to do more than stop the output of coal. It was clearly vital to stop the use of reserve stocks of coal, built up by employers and the Government in prospect of a strike, and also to stop the use of alternative sources of fuel to replace normal coal supplies. This was achieved by solidarity action of other workers with the miners. For 24 hours a day the pickets (miners, other trades unionists and stu-

dents) would be outside a power station or coal depot explaining to workers, either working in the station or depot or taking supplies into it, the justice of the miners' struggle and why they should support it. The pickets did a heroic job despite terrible weather, police provocation and mounting abuse from the mass media. Gradually the whole power industry began to be paralyzed and a decisive blow in the whole battle was struck at the National Gas Board depot in Saltley, near Birmingham.

One hundred thousand tons of coking coal were stockpiled at this depot. Here, as elsewhere throughout the country, the miners and their union had agreed to the use of such coal for heating hospitals, schools and old people's homes. It was clear, however, that the coal was being taken from the depot and used for other 'strike-breaking' purposes. The miners decided to stop this practice and from the first days of February began to picket the gates. Large forces of police were drafted in and by their actions assisted the passage of 250 lorries per day through the picket lines. The pickets grew increasingly angry at the unlawful strike-breaking activities of the police and the non-union lorry drivers and called for reinforcements from other areas of the coalfield and from fellow trade unionists in Birmingham. Many hundreds responded to the call and on Sunday, February 6, the police were massively outnumbered and had to close the gates to all traffic at 10 a.m.

Four days later the police had declared the gates would be kept open and lorries would be able to drive through. Early that morning the police numbers were in excess of pickets and the gates remained open. At 9:30 a.m. over the hill, from Birmingham, came thousands of engineering workers. They had walked out of their factories in response to local decisions of their unions to express solidarity with the miners, and led by their shop stewards, marched to Saltley Coke Depot. By 10 a.m. there were 10,000 engineers, miners, builders and students massed at the gates. The Chief of Police, bowing to the superior power of the workers, declared 'Close the Gates.'

Leaders of the NUM and AUEW addressed the jubilant workers and correctly described the events of that morning. 'It has been a display of solidarity that will go down in the history of the trade union movement.'

After six weeks of working-class militancy and solidarity the Government was on its knees and the miners were showing to the world the great power that they and the British working-class movement possess.

The Government were forced to institute a special enquiry, 'The Wilberforce Enquiry,' into the miners' claim. The subsequent Report published on Friday, February 18, recommended advances in wages and conditions far in excess of anything previously offered by the Coal Board. The Miners' Executive refused to agree that the Wilberforce proposals represented a fair settlement of their claim. They wrung more concessions from the Coal Board and the Government in negotiations and finally recommended to the miners acceptance of wage increases, additional holidays and other benefits that would

improve their overall conditions by about 25 per cent – three times the original offers of the Coal Board.

The *Morning Star* editorial of February 21st drew conclusions being drawn by all militants in the British Labor Movement:

'The terms the miners have obtained represent a big victory. It was achieved by united and determined struggle, in which mass picketing was a key factor, together with the growing solidarity of the other trade unionists.

'The miners have achieved a victory for the entire working class, and given a severe setback to Heath's Tory Government and the Big Business interests for which it is trying to hold down wages and restrict trade union rights.

'It is time to go all out to force a General Election to replace the Tories with a Labor Government pledged to carry out Left policies opening the road to Socialism.'

Inspired by the victories of the UCS workers and the miners, mass struggle in Britain has developed over a wide range of issues with militant opposition to the new Tory Housing Bill becoming a major question. This Bill, if it becomes law, will over the next few years double the rents of all private and council houses and exacerbate all the factors which have already produced a housing crisis of major dimensions. Rents equalling 20 to 30 per cent of the average national male workers' wages are now commonplace, young newly married couples are being forced to buy their own homes at exorbitant cost and inflated interest rates and there is less and less hope of the millions badly housed or homeless families ever getting suitable accommodation at rents they can afford to pay.

These are the elements, along with the drawing of the lessons, particularly by Communists and others on the Left, from other mass struggles, that are now producing a rising movement of action on housing and rents.

The contribution of students in the miners' struggle has already been indicated. Many thousands have been active on other issues, from combating racialism to action to end the war in Vietnam. But the greatest mass movement of students in these recent months has been on the challenge to their democratic rights from the Tory Government.

In late 1971 a document produced by the Ministry of Education outlined new proposals on the future of student unions. They reflected the Government's alarm at the growing maturity and militancy of the student movement and its ever closer links with the working-class movement. The Government was out to weaken student unions at university and college level and destroy their national leadership, the National Union of Students (NUS). It felt these measures were all the more essential because for the first time in thirty years the National President of the NUS was a Communist and the National Executive Committee of the Union was following a Left-Progressive policy on both student and other questions.

The Ministry of Education document met with uncompromising

hostility from the overwhelming majority of students. In hundreds of colleges and universities they made their views known in a clear and massive manner, culminating in a National Day of Action on December 8 involving over 400,000 students. They won to their side not only sections of the Labor and progressive movement but also many university and college professors and lecturers and the teaching unions as a whole. In face of this united and powerful opposition the Government retreated and postponed consideration of its proposals for one year. This capitulation came on the eve of a major national demonstration of students in London at the end of January. 30,000 students marched to a great meeting in Trafalgar Square. The demand that went out that day was 'Complete withdrawal of the Document.' This showed that students understood that the Government had only temporarily retreated under mass pressure but had not given up their reactionary plans altogether. The first round had been won by the students and their allies but the fight will be continued in the days ahead. The Tory Government is determined to try and cripple the student unions in the same way as they are trying to cripple the trade unions, and students will need to be as alert, vigilant and determined not to submit, as are their counterparts in the trades unions.

While the major mass demonstrations and strikes of the past eighteen months in Britain have been on economic, social and democratic issues of burning immediate concern to workers, there has also been widespread activity on great international issues in addition to the struggle opposing British entry to the Common Market.

Solidarity and support for the demands of the Civil Rights Movement in Northern Ireland and opposition to the repressive actions of the British army there, has been the theme of hundreds of meetings and of great marches through London and other major cities.

The heroic fight of the people of Bangladesh for peace and independence won wide support in the Labor and progressive movement.

Many trade union and progressive organizations in the middle of last year denounced the Nimiery terror in Sudan.

Communists and other progressive people continued their efforts to secure peace in the Middle East based on implementation of the November 1967 resolution of the UN Security Council.

Unity of many organizations has been forged in the campaign against the Tory Government's attempt to make a deal with Smith and sell out the people of Zimbabwe. Forty of these organizations, including the Communist Party, mounted a great 20,000-strong demonstration through London in February.

Support for a European Security Conference continues to grow and preparations are actively in hand in the progressive movement to ensure a response to all new initiatives in this sphere.

To end the war in Vietnam remains a continuous issue for our Labor and Progressive movement. The demand that Britain must dissociate from America's criminal aggression and Britain's strength be used to force total American withdrawal from Indochina receives

ever greater agreement. The renewed American bombing of North Vietnam brought forth a great upsurge of protest, best reflected in a week-long series of activities involving outstanding personalities of the Labor and progressive movement, around the American Embassy in London.

These and other internationalist actions of the British working class and progressive movement have received publicity and appreciation in other countries. Let us record here the great appreciation of British workers for the international solidarity shown to British miners during their epic struggle, and to the trade unionists of the Soviet Union and other countries, who have given generous financial aid in the ten-month-long battle of UCS workers.

The Communist Party and its members have played a leading part in the great mass struggles, first under a Labor Government and now under the Tories, to reject legal shackles on the trade union movement.

There is widespread public recognition of the contribution of Communists as well as other workers in the fight to maintain thousands of jobs in the shipyards of the Upper Clyde.

Our role in the miners' struggle has been widely acknowledged and our principled position over many years of opposition to Common Market entry has been vital to the present situation in the Labor movement and the country.

We have been to the fore on all the big international questions.

Our members and organizations are increasingly active in all the present mass struggles and playing a prominent role in the rising movement on the social issues, particularly housing and rents.

Central to the whole fight of Left progressive forces in Britain has been the role of the *Morning Star*. In its editorials and news columns it has provided the information, analysis and inspiration without which the great victories of the past year could not have been won. The whole movement in our country for working class advance, peace and socialism, is in its debt. A debt that can only be repaid by an intensified fight of all on the Left to increase its circulation and by so doing make it an ever more potent weapon of the class struggle.

It was this estimation of the vital contribution of the Communist Party and *Morning Star* in the mass struggle that led to the proposal in the report of the General Secretary of the Communist Party, John Gollan, to the 32nd Congress of the Party in November 1971, when he said:

'The new Executive Committee must launch a big political and ideological campaign in the working class and labor movement, among the youth and the intellectuals, on the need for a bigger Communist Party and Young Communist League to carry forward the whole political situation.'

The new political situation Communists fight to create he defined later in his Report:

'We put forward the conception of a broad, democratic struggle

for political power and socialism based on the unity of all the socialist forces, with far-reaching political and social struggle, extra-parliamentary as well as parliamentary, isolating the forces of the Tories and big business, achieving a Socialist Government of Labor and Communist Members of Parliament.'

British workers have shown in the past year that they have the power to open up the road to the political objectives set in John Gollan's Report. The exercise of that power for these political aims is the critical question of the days ahead and will be determined by the outcome of the struggle now reaching new levels between the Left and the Right in the Labor movement.



Significance of the Moscow talks

Few postwar international developments have been of such great importance as the outcome of the Soviet-U.S. top-level meeting last May. The Moscow summit was fruitful and was highlighted by the signing of important documents of both a general and a specific nature. The leaders of the two powers proclaimed that 'differences in ideology and in the social systems of the USSR and the USA are not obstacles to the bilateral development of normal relations based on the principles of sovereignty, equality, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage.'

A mere enumeration of the problems examined and the treaties and agreements signed during President Nixon's visit speaks for itself. It comprises the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems and the Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms; the understanding to complete in the near future the work necessary to conclude an agreement on commercial relations, and the decision to establish a Soviet-U.S. Joint Commercial Commission; the agreements on the prevention of incidents on and over the sea and on co-operation in the fields of science and technology, and the establishment of an appropriate joint commission; the agreements on co-operation in the exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes, including joint space experiments; on cooperation in public health, primarily in solving such universal problems as the treatment of cancer and cardiovascular diseases, on cooperation in environmental protection, and lastly, on exchanges in the fields of science, technology, education and culture to improve relations and understanding between the two countries.

The significance of all these documents is so obvious as to require no lengthy comment. Among the topics of the talks were such important international problems as the situation in Europe, the Middle East and Indochina, disarmament, and enhancement of the role of the UN.

The Basic Principles of Mutual Relations Between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America, signed by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, and

Richard Nixon, President of the USA, in Moscow on May 29, comprise a document of fundamental importance clearly indicating the groundwork, the long-term legal basis on which the two sides are going to build their mutual relations. International opinion took special note of the idea in the document that the signatories will seek better mutual understanding and cooperation 'without in any way prejudicing the interests of third countries.'

Today, with so much suspicion and distrust in international relations left from long years of a cold war started by reactionary forces, it is also worth taking special note of the provision that 'the USSR and the USA make no claim for themselves and would not recognize the claims of anyone else to any special rights or advantages in world affairs. They recognize the sovereign equality of all states.'

The motives which led to agreement on a number of issues at the Moscow meeting are broadly discussed by the world press.

As for the Soviet Union, what is noted first of all is the continuity and consistency of its policy. 'Our principled line with respect to the capitalist countries, including the USA,' said L. I. Brezhnev in the CC Report to the 24th Party Congress, 'is consistently and fully to practise the principles of peaceful coexistence, to develop mutually advantageous ties, and to cooperate, with states prepared to do so, in strengthening peace, making our relations with them as stable as possible.' The peace program announced by the CPSU does not rule out the development of normal relations with the United States. The CPSU newspaper, *Pravda*, noted editorially that 'the Moscow talks and agreements are new important steps towards implementing the peace program approved by the 24th Congress of the CPSU, which our Party and its Central Committee and Political Bureau have been carrying out steadfastly.'

To make a proper assessment of the results of the Soviet-U.S. meeting and see them in the right perspective, one should not approach them as an isolated fact nor a diplomatic episode calculated to cause an overnight sensation, but as a component of the peace offensive of socialism in recent years. The offensive was made possible, as has already been pointed out in this journal, by the new alignment of international forces, which is more favorable to peace and progress. This alignment helped towards a substantial improvement in the situation in Europe, the conclusion of the historic Soviet and Polish treaties with the FRG, the entry into force of the four-power agreement on West Berlin, important agreements between the two German states, and so on.

The new alignment of world forces also stimulated new trends in Soviet-U.S. relations. It objectively serves as an earnest of the effectiveness of the agreements. In preparing for the summit, the Soviet Union did not go back in any way on its fundamental foreign policy line. It consistently adhered to its position, consonant with the long-term interests of both the Soviet people and the peoples of other socialist countries, all peace-loving countries and all

liberation fighters. This was noted by *Rudé Pravo*, the Czechoslovak Communist Party newspaper, which commented that at the Moscow talks 'the Soviet Union negotiated from both its own positions and those of the forces of socialism and progress generally, for the Soviet Union's Leninist foreign policy inherently combines the country's own interests with those of the world Communist movement and peace-loving mankind.'

The world press devoted much attention to analysis of the reasons which brought the U.S. President to the negotiating table in Moscow. Among them, undoubtedly, were transient motives stemming from current political considerations. But President Nixon's visit was also a reflection of the new political realities of today which we have already noted. To borrow a term from the American political vocabulary, the visit resulted from an 'agonizing reappraisal' of certain U.S. foreign policy dogmas. The world must have changed a good deal, and the socialist system and the Soviet Union must have gained vastly in prestige and might, to induce the head of the White House to say in the Kremlin: 'The only way to enter Moscow is to enter it in peace.'

For U.S. policy, the road to the Moscow summit was strewn, in effect, with the debris of doctrines and concepts which failed the test of time, such as 'massive retaliation,' 'containment,' 'deterrence' or even 'rolling back' communism. We are far from suggesting that all these dangerous political mirages born of blind anti-communism are from now on forgotten on America's political Olympus. After all, not only 'doves' nestle there, but also 'hawks' and many other birds of less determinate plumage.

It is far more important to note that the road to the present Soviet-U.S. agreements, which will benefit all peoples, was marked by the triumph of the principles of peaceful coexistence steadfastly upheld by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Until recently these principles were under strong attack in the imperialist camp, which, indeed, avoided using the formula, seeing it as a subterfuge. All the more gratified are we Communists to read in the Basic Principles of Relations that the two great powers, one of which is the chief imperialist power of today, 'will proceed from the common determination that in the nuclear age there is no alternative to conducting their mutual relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence.' Much will, of course, depend on how consistently this principle is applied in U.S. politics.

The above estimation of the change in American sentiment was confirmed, in particular, by the *New York Times*. Even before President Nixon's trip to Moscow the paper wrote that cooperation, which had seemed a pipedream when Nixon first went to the Soviet Union, is now seen by the American public as an important but by no means surprising thing. Politicians who 15 years earlier could only have won election by taking an anti-Communist stand must now pledge themselves to seek agreement with the Soviet Union.

Surely that is clear enough. The change is unquestionably due to numerous factors, such as a more realistic appraisal of the gigantic military and political potential of socialism; a growing realization of the futility of anti-communism; the disbelief in victory in Vietnam, where another doctrine, that of 'Vietnamization,' is being defeated; the fear of businessmen to be left out of so promising a field as increasing mutually beneficial cooperation with the crisis-free socialist economy; the fear of being isolated even inside the capitalist camp, where sober-minded politicians have long since understood the usefulness of normal cooperation with the socialist part of the world.

It is an open secret that the Soviet-U.S. talks were difficult and confirmed the existence of certain areas in which the views of the two countries are poles apart. Nor is this surprising since there are issues objectively dividing the two social systems. In these talks as well, the CPSU showed its ability to combine a firm stand against imperialism's aggressive ventures in support of the anti-imperialist forces with a constructive approach to pressing international problems and a search for peaceful solutions to controversial issues—an uncompromising position in the ideological struggle with readiness to promote mutually beneficial relations with states of the opposite socio-economic system. In implementing the socialist peace policy, it will certainly be necessary, as in the past, firmly to counteract the opponents of détente, the forces of imperialist aggression.

We should not forget that the Moscow summit took place in a rather complicated international situation. Pessimists did not think there would be any talks at all. Those who favor international tension rejoiced in anticipation of such an outcome, which would undoubtedly have benefited the forces of aggression and war and checked for a long time to come the positive developments in progress on the world scene.

To deny that the Moscow agreements really benefit all the peoples of the world is to go against the obvious. The two great powers' decision to do their utmost to prevent military confrontation and nuclear war brings a new factor of stability into the international situation. In this case we have not a mere declaration, but an instrument followed up with a series of measures reducing the chances of an outbreak of armed conflict, and, moreover, now supplemented by momentous agreements on strategic arms limitation.

There was a time when certain people, some laying claim to particular revolutionism, tried to discredit the very method of solving various disarmament problems gradually, stage by stage, and described it as 'deception of the masses.' Today any unbiased person will see that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries were right in using every opportunity to lessen the danger threatening mankind. The treaties and agreements on particular disarmament issues signed in recent years served as stepping-stones in the ascent to the Moscow summit, which culminated in

the present agreements limiting nuclear armaments. These agreements are a highly important advance towards reducing the threat of nuclear war.

However, even today, as in recent years, there are those who resent the outcome of the Moscow meeting and the very fact that it was held while the Vietnam war started by imperialists is going on. Some go as far as to slander the Soviet Union outright, accusing it of 'forgetting the interests' of the peoples of Indochina. Yet everyone knows that the Soviet Union invariably helps Vietnam more than anyone else by supplying its liberation forces with weapons which enable them to defeat the enemy.

The Moscow Communique shows that during the Soviet-U.S. talks the Soviet Union did not retreat an inch from its fundamental position. 'The Soviet Side,' the Communique says, 'stressed its solidarity with the just struggle of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia for their freedom, independence and social progress. Firmly supporting the proposals of the DRV and the Republic of South Vietnam, which provide a realistic and constructive basis for settling the Vietnam problem, the Soviet Union stands for a cessation of bombings of the DRV, for a complete and unequivocal withdrawal of the troops of the USA and its allies from South Vietnam, so that the peoples of Indochina would have the possibility to determine for themselves their fate without any outside interference.' During the talks the Soviet Union reaffirmed its invariable support of the Arab peoples' just cause and its readiness to cooperate actively in carrying out the Security Council's Resolution 242 on the principles of a peaceful settlement in the Middle East.

The peoples of the fraternal socialist countries, the Communist and Workers' parties and progressive world opinion think highly of the results of the Soviet-U.S. meeting. They see it as a new step towards implementing the peace program of the 24th Congress of the CPSU – a program in harmony with the interests of all peace-loving peoples of the globe – which aligns the solution of current problems with the long-range perspective and goals of the struggle for peace, freedom, international security, social progress and socialism.

Jan Prazsky



Times past and present

Dolores Ibarruri

In the sad and bitter times of long exile, looking back at the past and reliving episodes of the people's heroic struggle is like dipping your soul into the refreshing cove of dreams and optimism, and easing the tensions and the protracted waiting.

But neither sanguinary defeat nor bitter disillusionment can stop us. We merely halt on the way to heal our wounds. Healing, they leave in the recesses of our consciousness a bitter sediment and a nagging ache for times gone by, for our still remote and inaccessible motherland.

My thoughts fly to places of my childhood, pure, innocent, though never happy, to places of my youth, where the as yet unconscious heretic mutiny flared inside me, sweeping out old notions and one fine day destroying my naive ideals.

I wished to be pious and lost faith in God; I wished to teach children in school and became a propagandist of revolution; I dreamed of happiness and life delivered a rude blow to what I cherished most . . .

I was confident of victory, and suffered with my people the bitterness of defeat, yet never ceased to believe in the rationale and justice of our struggle.

Once one looks back honestly to the causes of the defeat of a people capable of all exploits, a picture of the blood-drenched reality imposes itself on all the reasons and excuses, the numerous explanations why the republic was overthrown despite the courage of the republicans and the fighting spirit of the honestly democratic groups. And this reality was the absence of national feeling among the bourgeois and aristocratic forces, who did not hesitate to resort to the arms of foreign powers against their own people and against the democratically established republican institutions of Spain.

The Republic was set up in Spain in 1931 without a civil war and no trace of violence. On April 12, in municipal elections called by the royal government after eight years of military dictatorship, the vast majority voted for the democratic forces. On the following day the king stepped down from the throne and the royal family

left the country. Spain went to bed a monarchy and woke up a republic, people said.

Power fell into the hands of a Republican-Socialist conglomerate that had not stirred a finger to depose the monarchy. And as easily as they had come to power, they forgot that though autocratic royal rule was overthrown, the socio-political and economic pillars of the royal regime were still intact.

The Socialist Party joined the petty-bourgeois Republicans in running the country, but this far from guaranteed radical socio-economic changes. When parliament convened to discuss a constitution, the Socialists proposed that Spain should be called a republic of working people of all classes.' For them this also included the big bourgeoisie, aristocracy, church hierarchy and landed magnates. In fact, it was these very members of the oligarchy, their privileges untouched, who shaped the Republic's policy.

In a critical examination of the Republic in its first and decisive years, the prominent historian Ramos Oliveira observed that the more fitting name for the 'republic of working people of all classes' would be 'Spain - republic of "fellahs" threatened by the landowning oligarchy.'

The Republican-Socialist government did not attempt to disarm this oligarchy, guilty of the country's backwardness and poverty, by stripping it of economic power. Its main concern was to survive, to stay in the saddle and enter Spanish history as knights *sans peur et sans reproche*. And in this the Socialist minority headed by the unlamented Julian Besteiro, accomplice of Colonel Casado's traitorous junta, set the tone.

Radical agrarian reform stripping the landowners of their estates should have been one of the first acts of the new government. Instead, a legal committee was convened to draft a constitution, which was inaugurated on December 9, 1931, after a long-drawn-out debate, its sharpest 'edges' filed down to please the oligarchy.

'Democracy,' Ramos Oliveira wrote, 'lost precious and irrecoverable time. For nine months it kept asking the oligarchic turkey, 'what gravy do you want to be fried in?,' and naturally the turkey saw to it that it should not be fried at all . . .'

Meanwhile a civil war had begun. Counter-revolution seethed throughout the country. However, the Socialist and Republican leaders took no notice of it, being immersed in their honeymoon of power, intoxicated by the easy victory and remonstrating against the discontent of workers and peasants, who clamored for agrarian reform and frequently took matters into their own hands, defying the 'comrades ministers' and the government.

In the spring of 1932 in Seville the Fourth Congress of the Communist Party formalized far-reaching changes in the Party's policy and leadership. In the many years of underground work during the dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera, the Spanish Communists had grown accustomed to keeping within their own circle and following a sectarian line; which, to be fair, was a fault not alone of

our own Party. As a result, we were out of touch with big workers' organizations and the petty-bourgeois democratic element, and could not influence their policy and struggle.

It was high time to end this, to lock away our 'paralyzing dogmatism' more tightly than the sepulchre of Isabella the Catholic, and make the Party face the realities. We had to do this in order to be able to carry communist ideas to the masses, to win the trust and support of the working class and assume leadership in the battle for democracy and socialism.

Changing policy and bringing it up to date was the most important of our tasks. And painful though this was, we were therefore compelled to dismiss some of the comrades who had sustained the CPS in the difficult years of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship but were incapable of keeping step with the times. Our comrade Jose Diaz, who was elected General Secretary by the Seville Congress, was the moving spirit of the new policy.

After eighteen months of the Republic, the Agrarian Reform Institute attests, a mere 12,260 peasants had received land, while 2.5 million farm laborers were still awaiting their turn. The hopes people had pinned on the Republic began to fade. Meanwhile, the reactionary forces refurbished their tactics. They spread false rumors one day and provoked peasant unrest the next. The Republic was unable to contain, or at least weaken, two such powerful hostile forces as the landowning oligarchy and big bourgeoisie, who would stop at nothing to eradicate democracy.

The Republican-Socialist government resided in a fool's paradise. It governed, but left intact the economic foundations, and was oblivious of the example of the French bourgeois revolution, the strength and endurance of which stemmed from the support it had built for itself among the four million new landed proprietors, the republican army and bourgeois state. And as for the Soviet experience, the government rejected it out of hand as 'over-revolutionary.'

Republican Spain still had the royal army and civil guard. The armed forces, known for their ferocity towards the people, changed only outwardly.

While hunger still stalked the agricultural areas, large landed estates lay unworked. This precipitated a brutally crushed peasant rising in Extremadura and Andalusia. The criminal shooting of peasants wrought confusion. General Sanjurjo, commander of the Seville garrison, seized the opportunity to rebel against the Republic, proclaiming martial law in the Andalusian capital on August 10, 1932. The mutiny was not fortuitous. The general was a tool of the oligarchy, which thought the time was ripe for crushing the Republic, but miscalculated.

On suppressing the mutiny, the republican government was content to merely jail Sanjurjo, and let the oligarchic and plutocratic reactionaries glorify the mutineer and shower him with favors.

From then on the hopes of Spanish reaction were pinned on San-

jurjo. Condemned to several years' imprisonment, he was soon released and emigrated to Portugal, where he began preparing a fascist rebellion. However, he perished in a plane crash on the way to Spain to put himself at the head of the counter-revolution in July 1936. Whether the crash was accidental or deliberate, the general did not become the 'hero' of the criminal outrage against the Republic and its people, and the same fate (accidentally?) befell General Mola, clearing the way for Franco.

In the meantime, the political situation changed. By 1933 their joint term in office had largely cost the Republicans and Socialists the prestige they won with the deposition of the monarchy. They suffered a serious setback in the elections, while reaction scored a thunderous victory. President Alcala Zamora, a wealthy Andalusian landowner who assumed the highest office in the Republic thanks to the Socialists and Republicans, instructed the leader of the reactionary forces, Jose Maria Gil Robles, chairman of the Spanish Confederation of the Autonomous Right, to form a government in keeping with 'democratic' procedure.

After many years underground, our Party was able to campaign legally in the elections, and our Dr. Bolivar was elected deputy from Malaga to advocate the interests of the working class and peasants in a predominantly reactionary parliament.

Their defeat and loss of many seats in parliament was for the Socialists like thunder out of a clear sky and they set about revising their policy. But more about this later.

The 13th Plenary Meeting of the Comintern Executive took place in Moscow in 1933. Hitler's advent to power in Germany cast a cloud on the international situation, obliging the democratic forces to align their policy with the new situation.

I attended the Plenum as a representative of the CPS, and I cannot find words to say what I felt when the Party leadership decided to send me to Moscow. For a Communist, visiting Moscow was the height of ambition, like going to Mecca is for Moslems, with the difference that the former was a vital repository of revolutionary experience, the image of the world's socialist future, while Mecca is but a remembrance of a past of humility and submission.

In Moscow I met the leaders of the International and representatives of the most influential parties.

The matter of changing the strategy and tactics of parties out of step with developments in Europe and the rest of the world was not raised at sittings, but its urgency was distinctly felt. The changes were also urged by the negative experience of some parties, which were unable to exercise a decisive influence on the struggle for democracy and socialism, to be genuinely revolutionary, to take the lead in class battles looming on the political horizon.

I stayed in the Soviet Union from November 1933 to May 1934, visited many towns and villages, and saw the achievements of socialism, planning to talk about them at home. In 1934 I met Georgi Dimitrov, hero of the Leipzig trial and later General Secretary of

the Comintern Executive, who had just arrived in the Soviet capital after his release from a Nazi prison. Dimitrov had much experience of revolutionary work not only in his own country, Bulgaria, but also in fascist Germany, and used this to good advantage in the Comintern. Supported by the Soviet Communist Party leadership, he urged changes in the policy, strategy and tactics of the world Communist movement to relieve it of sectarian and dogmatic trammels. He took the matter before the Comintern Executive, and later the Seventh Comintern Congress in 1935.

Our experience showed how heavily tradition weighed on the working-class movement. The Communist Party had fought actively against the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, and was subjected to reprisals, while the Socialists had cooperated with the dictatorship. But when rule of law was restored in the country, they became a political force of great influence among workers and democratic groups, while the Communist Party remained an aggregate of heroic groups isolated from the bulk of the working class.

There was something wrong about our policy, which divided us from the working class, the peasants and the democratic forces. We were afflicted by a revolutionary infantilism that isolated us from the masses who could not shed their illusions after the easy way the monarchy was deposed. Adopting extremist postures, we compared the Socialist Party leaders with social-fascists and were blind to the possibilities of an understanding with them regardless of their reformism. In the reformist unions we tried organizing opposition groups to show the workers the weakness of the Socialists' policy, to expose their concessions to the bourgeoisie and their Republican allies. Then, following the establishment of a Spanish branch of the Red International of Labor Unions, Communists were withdrawn from the unions, the opposition groups were abolished, and we formed a new organization. As a result, we stewed in our own juice and exercised no real influence on either the working-class movement or the popular struggle. All of us were conscious of this, but none spoke out—some due to mental laziness others to a sense of misunderstood discipline.

The sectarian narrow-mindedness of some of our union leaders was well known and I decided to cross the Rubicon regardless of the consequences. Though I had not been instructed to raise the matter in Moscow, I told Comrade D. Z. Manuilsky about my doubts. On the eve of my departure, when he asked if I still had anything on my mind, I described our trade union policy as wrong since it had led to isolation from the country's labor and national movement.

I did not suspect that the subject was not new to him, and could not know that my opinion coincided with the judgment ripening among the Comintern leadership. The question of changing the approach to the unions was on the order of the day.

After I had presented my case, Manuilsky said I could not leave the following day. I was taken aback, but on turning it over in my

head I said as people say in my country, 'be it as God wills.' God and the Comintern leadership willed that the matter should be discussed by the Red International of Labor Unions leadership in the presence of a few visiting union delegates and Comintern representatives.

The discussion was opened by Comrade Pyatnitsky, who was in the chair. He disagreed with me. But most of the other speakers backed my view, and it was finally decided to submit the matter to the leadership of the Red International of Labor Unions and the Comintern for a final study jointly with the national sections of both internationals.

I left Moscow in good spirits, though somewhat worried about the Party's reaction to my behavior. In Madrid I made a clean breast of it, and first of all to Jose Diaz. Unassuming as always, he said: 'You have done well by raising the matter. It has worried us for some time. We shall send a delegation to Moscow to discuss it, and shall then see what to do.' As a result, our policy in the unions was soon altered.

But back to 1933. Having defeated the Socialists and ousted them from the government, reaction took heart and mounted an offensive against the people's democratic gains. The new situation was fraught with the danger of a counter-revolution. This led to an improvement of relations between the Socialist and Communist parties, though they were not what they should logically have been between two parties espousing the same, albeit differently conceived, ideology.

The following year saw a change in the Socialist Party's policy — from cooperation with the Republican bourgeoisie it went over to preaching armed struggle and insurrection. We saw the Socialists' inconsistency (only yesterday they had been the main pillar of the republican government's repressive policy), but decided all the same to take part in their preparations for a revolutionary rising, and to do our utmost to countervail adventurism and the danger of anarchy.

The armed rising broke out in Asturia, and was supported in many other places. For two weeks, Communists fought by the side of Socialists, died together in battle and in the bloody reprisals that followed the suppression of the insurrection. The joint struggle against the common enemy dampened our former hostility. Though our grievances were not altogether forgotten, we were able to achieve a rapprochement.

The insurgents (mainly Asturian miners) were subjected to savage reprisals, but these were cut short by the broad solidarity movement across Spain and abroad. All the same, many of the insurgents were in mortal danger and had to be shipped out of Asturia. A large group, comprising both Socialists and Communists, went to the Soviet Union, where they lived, worked and studied until new developments in Spain enabled them to return.

For all its weaknesses, the heroic rising of 1934 paved the way for democratic advances, showing the great potential of unity

among Communists, Socialists and all democratic forces. This confirmed the standpoint of the Comintern, which had pointed out at the end of 1933 and in mid-1934 that the battle against the fascist threat required mutual understanding among all progressive forces in each country, and that for this dogmatism and sectarianism so rightly criticized by Lenin should be eliminated.

The Popular Front policy, which originated from the experience of all Communist parties, forged mutual understanding between Communists and Socialists in France, and enabled the Spanish workers and democratic forces to gain an impressive victory in the February 1936 cortes elections and, later, to organize the heroic nationwide resistance to the armed fascist mutiny.

Direct and immediate struggle for proletarian dictatorship was untimely in the conditions existing in many of the capitalist countries, Manuilsky pointed out at the first sitting of the commission preparing the Seventh Comintern Congress. A concrete program was required, he said, to mobilize and prepare the masses for the struggle for socialism.

At the same sitting (July 2, 1934) Dimitrov clarified the Comintern's new orientation. In the changed situation, he said, the outdated tactics should be thoroughly revised. He decried the tendency to identify social-democracy with fascism and to regard Left socialist groups as the main danger. Debunking the notion that a united front could emerge only from below, Dimitrov urged a new approach to Social-Democratic leaders and the reformist unions, and called for efforts to draw them into the struggle against fascism, to forge unity.

United action, Dimitrov said, should have no preliminary 'conditions, save one – elementary and acceptable to all workers, namely: this united action should be against fascism, against the capitalist offensive, against the threat of war, against the class enemy.' He deprecated 'sacred prescriptions,' which often superseded Marxist analysis and prevented Communist parties from being the true organizers and leaders of the anti-fascist struggle. To defend democracy against fascism, dangerously spreading across Europe, Dimitrov said, Communist parties would do well to seek alliances with other organizations – petty-bourgeois democratic ones, as well as Socialist.

Spain's Communist Party was the first to forge such alliances in the armed struggle of 1934, and its experience helped to finalize the decisions of the Seventh Comintern Congress. And if that struggle was an important example for other parties, still more so was the Popular Front and the Spanish people's almost three years of resistance to the fascist mutiny, which broke out in July 1936 and was the prologue to the Second World War.

Retrospection is not dangerous in the sense that it might make us turn away from, or forget, the present. On the contrary, it reaffirms our sense of existence, the purpose of our long struggle with its successes and setbacks, victories and sad defeats. It is like reread-

ing with fresh ardor the faded pages from the book of life, recalling what there was and that which was not destined to materialize.

The experience of the battle in Spain is too singular to be repeated in other countries, but the experience of uniting all democratic forces – from Catholics to Communists – could be a reassuring example for those fighting for freedom, democracy and national independence. We can now see in Chile how great the potentialities of such unity are, regardless of the difficulties entailed.

Irrespective of the inexcusable errors it has committed, the CPS follows its policy and holds, as it did before, that the crucial issue in the battle for democracy in Spain is that of allies.

There was a time when the peasants of agrarian, semi-feudal Spain were by virtue of concrete and objective circumstances the principal ally of the working class in the struggle for democracy and socialism. Years have gone by and the situation has changed. The weight of peasants and farm laborers has diminished drastically. In the past twenty years more than six million have left the rural areas, migrating to cities, suburban zones, or abroad. The worker/peasant formula in democratic revolution, valid fifty years ago is still correct today, though no longer 'supreme' in view of the existing correlation of strength.

In Spain, peasants and farm laborers, who are fiercely exploited, are still, as we see it, a potentially revolutionary force opposing the Franco dictatorship and the propertied interests associated with it. But other forces in the political arena should not be left out of the reckoning. The struggle against Franco rages across the entire country. Diverse sections of the nation are engaged in it – from the working class, the most consequent fighter against Francoism, to the Catholic Church, and including the intelligentsia and militant student youth. So the CPS is working to regroup the main anti-Franco forces in the battle for a democratic, independent and sovereign Spain without asking anyone where they had been before and what they had thought.

What has sparked this evolution – an evolution presaging socio-political and democratic changes without a new civil war – in people who but recently supported the Franco regime? Apart from national and international factors (mainly the existence of the socialist world and the decline of imperialism), this was sparked to no small degree by the long and heroic struggle of our Communist Party, its profoundly internationalist policy, conducted to this day without opportunist aberrations and sectarian occlusions.

After 30 long years of fascist dictatorship, of prisons and executions, the forces aspiring to democratic and even socialist changes predominate more and more on the present-day Spanish scene over those wanting to sustain the regime, proving that the reactionary mutiny of 1936 went against the logic of history.

Hence the CPS policy of uniting the progressive forces to overthrow the Franco dictatorship and establish a democratic regime. Faithful to Marxism-Leninism, we, the Spanish communists, sup-

port every kind of protest and opposition to Francoism, every kind of democratic movement regardless of its originators, but never conceal our Communist convictions and our socialist aims.

We are Communists, which puts responsibilities upon us to our people, our working class, all progressives in Spain and the world Communist and anti-imperialist movements. And as Communists we declare our unconditional internationalism, our solidarity with the working class in all countries and with all peoples fighting for freedom. We also declare our sincere and outspoken friendship with all socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, where the power of capital was destroyed forever under the leadership of the Communist Party, Lenin and the entire galaxy of revolutionaries, opening up the way to socialism for all peoples.

We reassure everyone of our friendship, which does not rule out variance in discussing problems posed by the struggle for democracy and socialism in this or that country. This is the policy and position of the CPS, designed to lead our country to democracy and socialism, for which our best fighters have fought and fallen.



Dolores Ibarruri (Dec. 9, 1895)—prominent in the Spanish and international Communist and working-class movement, Chairman of the Communist Party of Spain

Committee Abroad of CP of Indonesia

Letter

Dear Comrades,

We herewith enclose a copy of our letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Netherlands, asking for it to be published in the CPN newspaper **De Waarheid** and pointing out that we regard one of the propositions in the CC CPN report to the 24th CPN Congress as a distortion of the position of the international Communist movement towards the Communist Party of Indonesia.

We should like to stress that our letter is not an act of interference in the affairs of the CPN. We always were, and remain, in solidarity with the struggle of the comrades in the Netherlands. However,

considering that the problem raised directly concerns the relations between the Communist Party of Indonesia and other fraternal parties, it appears desirable to have our letter published in your journal for the information of the world Communist movement.

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CP OF THE NETHERLANDS

Amsterdam

Comrades,

Hundreds of thousands of Indonesian Communists and progressive people died at the time of the brutal massacre undertaken by the reactionary forces in Indonesia. The country is now ruled by Army generals. The terror which was unleashed in 1965 still continues. Tens of thousands of people are still in jails and concentration camps. They are treated inhumanly by the authorities. Families of Communists are also subjected to similar treatment.

The Communists of Indonesia, who are now in a difficult position, express their particular gratitude for all manifestations of comradely solidarity by the fraternal parties all over the world. We witness manifestations of solidarity coming from practically all the fraternal parties in Asia, Europe, Latin America and other continents. In the report of the CC CPSU to the 23rd Party Congress it was stated: 'Our Party and the entire Soviet people condemn with deep indignation the anti-Communist terror in Indonesia. The reactionary forces there, without trial and investigation, have brutally done away with tens of thousands of people, whose only "fault" was being members of the Communist Party. The outlawing and persecution of the Communist Party deals a blow to the unity of the Indonesian revolutionary forces, undermines the anti-imperialist front and causes much harm to the interests of the friendly Indonesian people. We demand that an end be put to the criminal murders of Communists, those heroic fighters for Indonesia's national independence and for the interests of the working people.'

The Communists of Indonesia always feel manifestations of solidarity on the part of the CPSU. In the spirit of genuine proletarian internationalism the Communist and Workers' parties of Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Mongolia, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, France, Italy, the USA, India and many other countries continue to support, as they have always done, our struggle. We are grateful to the Dutch Communists for their sympathy with the victims of the terror.

The Address to Indonesian Communists was adopted on the initiative of the CPSU by the highest Communist forum, the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, in 1969. The Address stated: 'The International Meeting pays homage to Indonesian Communists who fell victim to the bloody terror and expresses its internationalist solidarity with those who are continuing the struggle. The Meeting believes in the future of the fraternal Party, that it will over-

come the difficulties of the present period. We are convinced that by firmly adhering to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism the Indonesian Communists, in alliance with other progressive democratic forces of Indonesia, will lead their people to the triumph of the bright ideals of genuine national independence, progress and socialism.'

All the declarations of the fraternal parties in defense of the Communists and other democrats of Indonesia, as well as the Address to Indonesian Communists, were widely published in the world press and you could not but know of this. That is why it was with consternation and a feeling of bitterness that we read the following passage from the recently published General Report of the CC CPN to the pending 24th Party Congress: 'Our Party was particularly shocked by the fact that in Europe it remained in isolation when it urged to save the members and leaders of the Communist Party of Indonesia, who had been sentenced to death, and denounced the bloody Suharto regime.'

This fully contradicts the reality and inasmuch as you must have known about the mass manifestations of solidarity with our Party in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America we cannot but regard your allegation as a flagrant distortion of facts. We attentively read the General Report of the CC CPN and came to the conclusion that this allegation was not casual. It stems from the general line of the Report, which attacks the line of the international Communist movement and the policy of the overwhelming majority of the fraternal parties. Your allegation that the Indonesian Communist Party is in isolation and does not enjoy the support of the international Communist movement is aimed in fact to drive a wedge between the Indonesian Communists and the movement and to sow the seeds of doubt and distrust towards fraternal parties. We note with profound regret that your statement objectively and actually helps the Djakarta military junta, which considers the international links of the Indonesian Communist Party as a major threat.

We consider it our duty to inform the members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Netherlands and all the Dutch Communists of the above-mentioned facts.

We always need the solidarity of our comrades-in-arms throughout the world. That is why we most resolutely protest that the problems of vital significance to all the Communists of Indonesia are used as a pretext for attacks on fraternal parties.

Since the Report of the CC CPN has already been made known to the Dutch public, we hope you will not refuse to publish our letter in *De Waarheid*.

With Communist greetings,

T. SINURAJA
Secretary of the Committee Abroad
of the CP of Indonesia.



The duty of all decent men

'I, Captain Aurelio Centurion, have been in this hell for eight years now. It seems like eternity. Eight years of humiliation and torture, physical and spiritual. . . . Do we not deserve a trial? Even criminals are tried.' This is one of the few messages from political prisoners to reach the public. It was recorded during a visit to the prison by Carmen de Lara Castro, Liberal-Radical member of the Paraguayan Parliament and president of the Human Rights Commission. It could have come also from worker Irineo Aveiro, engineer Virgilio Bareiro and the hundreds of other political detainees kept for long years in Stroessner jails. They come from all walks of life and their only guilt is the desire to see their country free.

Ever since 1940 Paraguay has been under a succession of reactionary military dictatorships serving the landed oligarchy and the American monopolies. And throughout these years every manifestation of protest has been brutally suppressed. But the terror became especially savage following the 1954 coup d'état that brought General Alfredo Stroessner to power. A double-dyed reactionary and an admirer of Nazism, he has turned Paraguay into one huge prison. Terror has become official policy.

For many years the people have been fighting the triple evil of terror, exploitation and poverty. More than 800,000—out of a population of 2.5 million—are forced to live abroad for economic or political reasons. There are more than 100,000 unemployed. Only 1.7 per cent of the arable is cultivated and three-fourths of it belongs to 1,500 latifundists, while more than 100,000 peasants have no land at all. The standard of living is one of the lowest in Latin America. Infantile mortality is appalling—125 per 1,000. There is only one doctor for every 6,600 of the population. Such is Paraguayan reality, and it has aroused protest among different sections of the population.

The regime metes out harsh punishment to everyone evincing a desire to abolish the dictatorship and change the socio-economic structure. But the harshest punishment is reserved for the Communists, who have been courageously fighting for a broad anti-

dictatorial front, consistent democratization of political life and a democratic agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution.

The foreign press often refers to Paraguay as a country of 'relentless lawlessness.' And relentless it is: practically all political detainees' appeals to the Supreme Court are to no avail. Of the hundreds of political prisoners only three have been tried, Central Committee members of our Party Antonio Maidana, Alfredo Alcorta and Julio Rojas. In 1958 Maidana and Alcorta were sentenced to two years nine months and one year respectively. At the end of their terms, the court ordered their release, but Stroessner cancelled the order, and for more than 14 years now they have been kept in jail which, as if to add insult to injury, is 50 metres away from the Supreme Court.

The Paraguayan Communist Party has made their liberation a priority aim. But it is also campaigning for amnesty for all political prisoners whatever their Party affiliation, and for freedom of the press and assembly. The struggle has been joined by students, peasants and intellectuals and is a component part of the overall struggle to rid Paraguay of the hated dictatorship. It is developing into a national movement, involving ever wider sections of the population, including the bourgeoisie and the Catholic Church and its supreme authority, the Paraguayan Episcopal Conference headed by the Archbishop of Asuncion. In February 1971, he refused to take his seat on the Council of State (a consultative body under the President) because of disagreement with the government's repressive policies.

There is a mounting international campaign to secure the release of Paraguay's political prisoners. It is actively supported by the people of the USSR and other socialist countries, by public opinion in Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Peru, Venezuela, also in France and other European countries. In all of them permanent solidarity organizations have been set up and their membership includes many prominent personalities. They have done much to expose the Stroessner regime in the United Nations, the Organization of American States, the International Red Cross and other world bodies.

This growing solidarity with Paraguayan democrats has aroused fear and dismay in the regime, which is now preparing to 're-elect' President Stroessner. The 'elections' are scheduled for next February, and by way of preparation stringent control has been imposed on the mass media to prevent any news of the political and economic situation reaching the outside world. There are reports that the regime is planning the murder of many political prisoners, with Communists Maidana, Alcorta and Rojas first on the list. That heinous crime must be prevented. We appeal to democrats everywhere to intensify the campaign against the criminal Stroessner dictatorship. It is the duty of all honest men to help secure the release of political prisoners in Paraguay.

Marcelo Pereira

Unity is the key to salvation

Uruguay has become the scene of dramatic events. Following 'bloody Friday' (April 14) when 12 were killed on the streets of Montevideo, the reactionaries mounted an all-out assault on the democratic forces. The purpose was to abolish constitutional freedoms. The pretext was the fight against the Tupamaros.

Troops and police, joined by fascist gangs, attacked the offices of democratic organizations and the homes of progressive leaders. The terror reached its peak with the raid on Communist Party headquarters and the murder of seven Communists during a raid on the district Party offices at Paso Molino. The funeral of the seven comrades, Mendiola, Abreu, Gancio, Mora, Lopez, Fernandez and Gonzalez, turned into an impressive demonstration against the government and the menace of fascism. The Communist Parties of Argentina, Chile and other countries issued statements protesting against this reactionary onslaught and pledging fraternal solidarity with the Communist Party of Uruguay, the Broad Front and all progressive forces.

The dastardly murder of seven unarmed Communists is without parallel in Uruguay's political history. It was a deliberate provocation against the people's vanguard, part of the plans of continental reaction and the CIA. Responsibility for the blood shed in Montevideo lies with the imperialist monopolies and the local oligarchy. The government Colorado Party, which speaks for the financial and industrial bourgeoisie, upholds and promotes their interests.

The present government has inherited from its predecessors a huge foreign debt of \$850 million, a deteriorating economy and an explosive political situation. Its proclaimed 'stabilization' policy has only made things worse: the peso was devaluated in March, restrictions were imposed on sales of meat to the population, food prices were raised in April, along with electricity charges and tuition fees.

After the April 14 provocation, the government railroaded through parliament an anti-constitutional law placing the country in a 'state of civil war.' Emergency legislation is being used to step up repressions. The Patria paramilitary organization and similar reactionary groups have become more active. Political terror, assassination and torture have become constant concomitants of Uruguayan life. The homes of Senators Rodriguez and Michelini were bombed. There were attacks on Broad Front leaders Crottogini and Quijano. Addressing a mass meeting on March 24 to commemorate student Iberto Gutierrez, another victim of reactionary terror, the Rector of the National University, Oscar Maggiolo, declared that fascism was the ideology of the oligarchy, which was using violence to uphold the interests of the privileged few.

All this has aroused mass protest. The people's fight for better

conditions is becoming more tense and is closely intertwined with political action. In April, the National Labor Convention and the United Dockers' Union drew up a plan of struggle against government policy. There have been a number of major strikes in protest against the assassination of Communists. There were mass demonstrations on May Day.

The Broad Front is playing an increasingly prominent role. In the 18 months since its inception, it has grown into a powerful political force with thousands of local committees. Support is growing for its program, which calls for nationalization of the big monopolies, agrarian reform and an independent foreign policy.

The Communists are the vanguard force of the Broad Front and in the people's struggle. That is why they have been made the target of reactionary attacks. But all attempts to weaken the Communist Party and undermine its influence are doomed to failure. Addressing a mass rally in Montevideo on April 22, the Party's First Secretary, Rodney Arismendi, said: 'The surest way of saving the country is unity of the people. . . . We will not be intimidated by reaction or fascism. And in the final analysis, the people will win through to victory. It will be our victory. Fascism shall not pass!'

Pedro Ramirez



Istoria rabocheho dvizhenia v SShA v noveisheye vremya
(History of the American Labor Movement in Modern Times)

This fundamental work by the Soviet Academy Sciences' Institute of Universal History* covers a period in which important changes came about in the labor movement of the United States and numerous other countries. Under the impact of the October Revolution and the progress of socialism, the working class stepped up its struggle and the Left trend gained ground in its ranks.

As the authors pass from one stage to the next they also analyze the economic and political conditions of each period, looking into the processes and phenomena typical of it. They devote special attention to the trade unions – development trends, the reasons for the domination of American labor by reactionary bosses, and their divisive role in the international trade union movement.

The authors show the effort of the Communists and allied Left forces to win over the workers, and the position of the Communist and Socialist parties on the key issues facing the American proletariat at this or that stage. They do not limit themselves to just the brighter details of history but mention the difficulties which Communists had to grapple with, the discussions and debates within the Communist Party. The Negroes' fight for civil rights takes up considerable space.

The book is the most comprehensive work on the subject (the four-volume work by Philip Foner, the American historian, does not go beyond the turn of the century). The authors have used many hundreds of books, documents and pamphlets – almost 600 titles. There is no bibliography in English comparable to this. The book closes with a vast appendix analyzing the methodological principles of the bourgeois history of the labor movement, examining the writings of American Marxists (William Foster and others) and progressive historians and surveying Soviet literature.

It is manifest that the history of the American labor movement arouses deep interest in the Soviet Union. But one would search

*Editorial Board: B. Y. Mikhailov (Editor-in-Chief), N. V. Mostovets, and G. N. Sevostyanov. Moscow, Nauka. Vol. 1 (1918-1939), 1970, 590 pp. Vol. 2 (1939-1965), 1971, 611 pp.

in vain for a scholarly book on the trade unions of the USSR and other socialist countries in the United States. In capitalist countries one rarely finds institutions that would make available the means in personnel and resources for so comprehensive a work on the labor movement as the one produced by the Soviet scholars. Except for Communists, who study Soviet experience, no American concerns himself seriously with the problem. U.S. writers steer away from a study of Soviet labor unions, of their social role, because they don't want to displease the union bureaucracy. The situation is a commentary on the hypocrisy of bourgeois writers claiming 'objectivity.'

For decades, America's working people have been told that the USSR's unions are 'not real' and are 'government-run.' The Labor Department has published pamphlets and leaflets to the same effect much to the delight of the monopolies and the union bosses. This misinformation is also given in textbooks and biographies of labor leaders written to order and subsidized out of the treasuries of the unions concerned.

The two-volume history published in the Soviet Union is a Marxist work whose authors don't pretend to be 'impartial observers.' This writer, who has studied trade union affairs for four decades and is fairly familiar with U.S.-published labor literature, can testify that an American reader would gain a more complete knowledge from the two-volume Soviet work if it were in English than from any publication available now in the United States.

The work concludes at the start of the 60s. Subsequent years saw many events. Labor struggles entered a new stage. Rebellion against the top AFL-CIO bureaucracy has been spreading. A split has developed within the bureaucracy itself, to the point that shortly before he died (1970) Walter Reuther and his United Automobile Workers began a movement for a new labor center. The reaction to the Southeast Asia war has aroused much of the labor movement against the Meany group. An important development was the exposure of the way the AFL-CIO's international affairs department under the direction of Jay Lovestone provided a 'labor cover' for the CIA in many lands in Asia, Latin America and Africa. It resulted in a break between the U.S. labor leaders and the ICFTU.

A growing resistance to the government's drive against labor is evidence of the change taking place. Developments fully confirm the position the American Marxist-Leninists have taken on the trade unions, and the line of the authors of the book under review. It is to be hoped that the Soviet scholars will continue their research and produce a third volume.

George Morris

INTERNATIONAL BOOK FAIR

'Books for All' – it was under this motto of UNESCO's International Book Year that the 17th International Book Fair, one of the

world's biggest, was held in Warsaw in May. There, at the Palace of Culture and Science, 1,500 publishers from 24 countries displayed their output.

Inaugurating the Fair, Stanislaw Wronski, Poland's Minister of Culture and Art, stressed the immense role of books in human culture. We would be very happy, he said, if visitors noticed on the stands primarily those books that reveal today's world, showing the peoples' aspiration for a future of progress. May this Fair, he added, help establish and foster mutual relations in the name of friendship among nations and world peace.

The 85,000 titles at the Fair were evidence of the rapid progress of book-publishing and the enormous demand for reading. They represented all literary forms and genres but scientific and technological publications predominated. There were numerous books on socio-political subjects, especially from socialist countries. The exhibits included the collected works and individual writings of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, as well as collective monographs on the socio-economic and political problems of today.

The Soviet display was the largest. Dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Union, it depicted the progress of science, technology, culture and art. It comprised 3,000 titles brought out by 200 publishing houses of the Union republics. The central exhibit was Lenin's *Works*, published in 102 languages of the Soviet Union and other countries, in a total of more than 500,000,000 copies.

The Fair was indicative of the socialist countries' noteworthy achievements. The GDR produces 6,000 titles a year in a total of almost 120 million copies, or roughly seven books per head of the population. Poland last year brought out 126 million books and expects to double this figure in 1975. It is important to note that in the socialist countries books are much cheaper than anywhere else and hence within reach of the people.

Peace and Socialism, the Prague publishing house, took part in an international fair of this nature for the first time. It exhibited books containing the records of international theoretical conferences and meetings sponsored by the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, books and pamphlets in the Marxist Thought series and other publications in different languages.

The Fair also became a forum at which views were exchanged on cooperation in book-publishing and trade, promoted new cultural and scientific contacts, and reviewed achievements in book-printing.

N. B.

Warsaw-Prague.

IN BRIEF

Conferences on role of working class

'Developments in the Revolutionary World Working-class Movement Since the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties' was the subject of an academic conference in Moscow attended by heads of research centers in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and the Soviet Union. The opening remarks were by K. F. Katushev, Secretary of the CC CPSU. Reports and papers were presented. A study group, 'The Working Class in the World Revolutionary Process,' was formed for multilateral cooperation among scholars of socialist countries.

An academic conference, 'Topical Aspects of the Historical Mission and Leading Role of the Working Class,' was held in Prague under the auspices of the CC CPC Higher Political School. Apart from Czechoslovak comrades, it was attended by lecturers and heads of party schools in Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Mongolia, Rumania, Poland, the Soviet Union, guests from Austria, the FRG, Italy, Finland, and fraternal party representatives on this journal.

Great Britain

The Communist Party of Great Britain admitted 1,800 new members this year.

The Party made a visible gain in the recent municipal elections, its 300 candidates polling 48,000 votes. Its influence has grown particularly in Scotland: ballots for Communists increased 50 per cent.

Indonesia

Tekad Rakjat ('Will of the People'), underground journal of the Communist Party of Indonesia, published by the Committee Abroad of the CPI since November 1967, is now also appearing in English.

Iraq

With two Communists assuming ministerial posts in the government, a statement of the CC of the Iraqi CP listed the reasons for accepting the offer of the governing Baath Party as (a) publication of the draft national action charter, which sets the aim of a united front of national progressive parties and forces, (b) conclusion of the Friendship and Cooperation Treaty with the Soviet Union, an important milestone in the relations of the two countries, and (c) the beginning of national oil extraction with the help of the Soviet Union and Hungary.

The purpose of participating in the government, the CPI said, is to advocate the popular interests, to promote observance of adopted laws, and consolidate the progressive gains.

Poland

A Polish United Workers' Party decision on veterans of the Polish labor movement says the Party will continue to count on the political and social experience of its distinguished fighters, and heed their recommendations and advice. They will be invited to participate in consultations preceding important decisions. Special medals will be issued to veterans on the 50th anniversary of their Party work. The Higher Social Science School will produce and publish biographies of prominent veterans. Groups of activists of local PUWP committees will see to it that veterans' living conditions are improved.

Soviet Union

The CC CPSU May Meeting heard and discussed CC CPSU General Secretary L. I. Brezhnev's report on the international situation. 'The Leninist foreign policy of the CPSU and Soviet state,' the resolution of the Meeting says, 'has the wholehearted support of the entire Party, the entire Soviet people.'

The Meeting instructed the Political Bureau to continue following the peace program of the 24th Congress using diverse forms and methods suiting the concrete situation, and to tie in current immediate actions with the long-term perspective and the aims of the struggle for peace and the freedom and security of the peoples, for social progress and socialism.

In line with the decision of the 24th Congress, the Meeting resolved to exchange Party membership cards in 1973-1974. The resolution on this score, says:

'The exchange of Party cards shall be effected as an important politico-organizational measure, subordinated to the Party's objective of further consolidation and greater activity, and discipline of Communists.'

United States

CP USA candidates in the U.S. presidential elections, Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner, have been entered in the New Jersey list. The CP candidates are also entitled to entry in Alabama, Kentucky, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Utah.

A Marxist study centre has been opened in New York's Harlem.

France

The Communist and Socialist parties have formed a joint working group to draw up proposals for a political agreement, encompassing a government program. Four committees have been set up: social aims, institutions, economic, and foreign policy.

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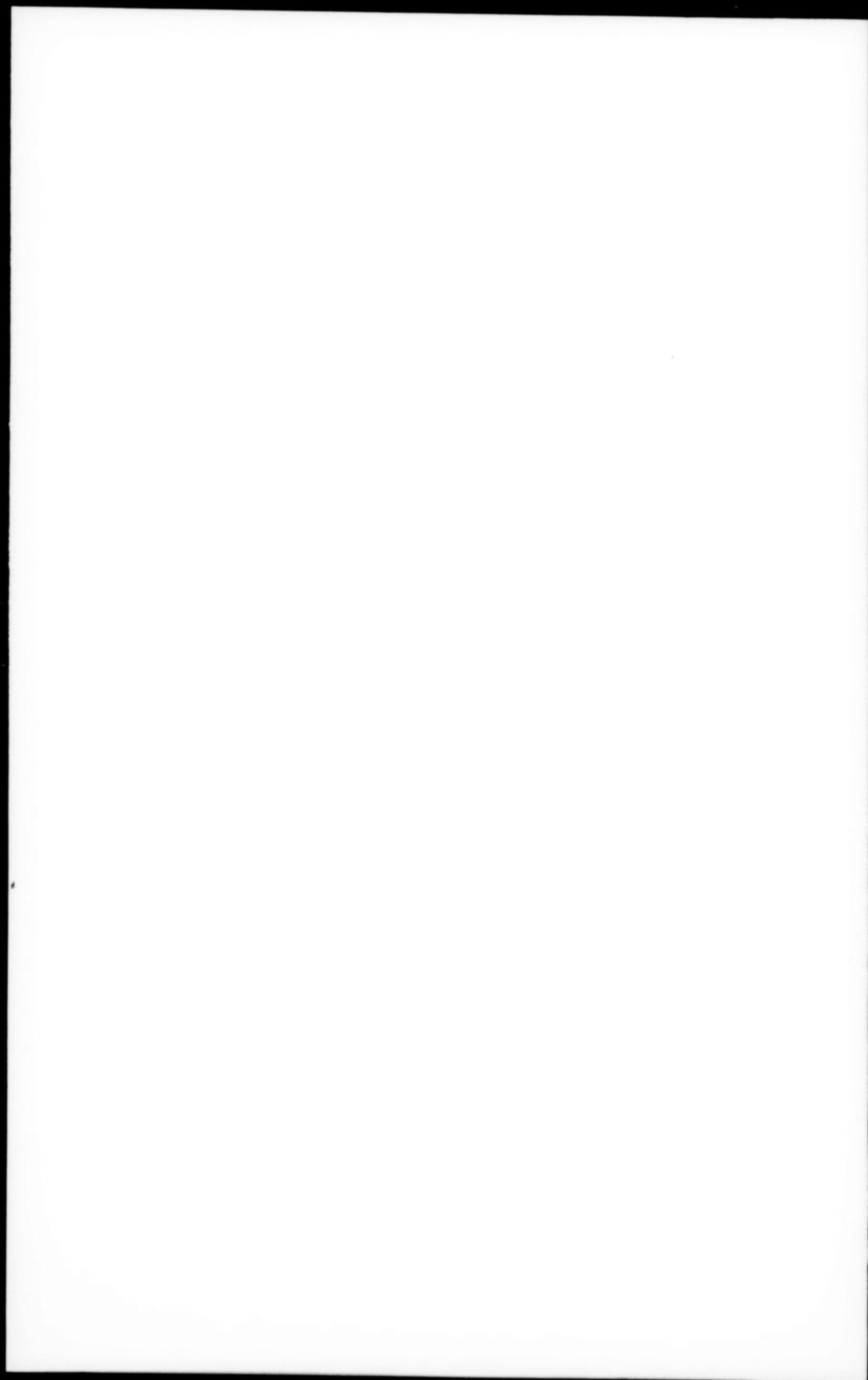
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